

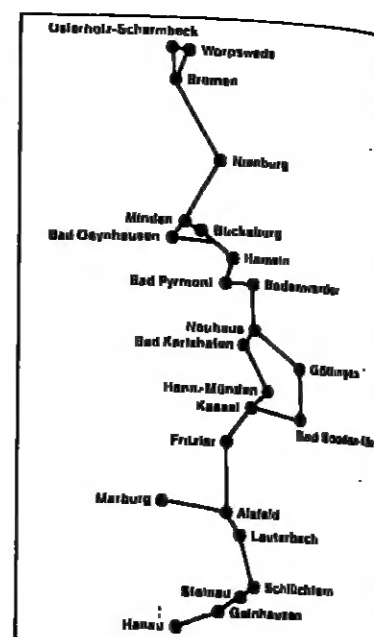
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Fairy Tale Route

German roads will get you there — even if nostalgia is your destination. On your next visit why not call to mind those halcyon childhood days when your mother or father told you fairy tales, maybe German ones? The surroundings in which our great fairy tale writers lived or the scenes in which the tales themselves were set will make their meaning even clearer and show you that many are based on a fairly realistic background.

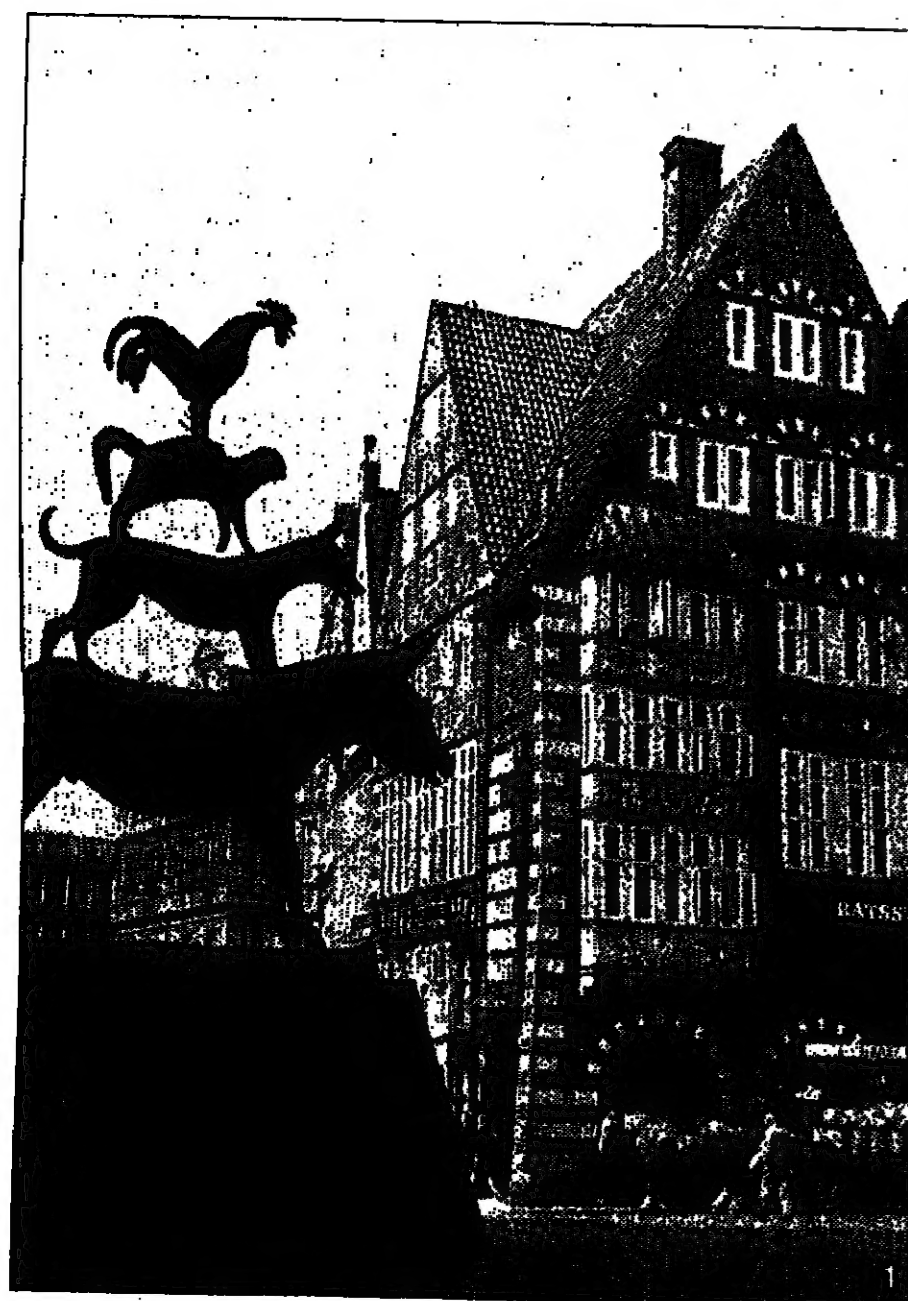
On a tour from Hanau, near Frankfurt, where the Brothers Grimm were born, to Bremen, where the Town Band (consisting of a donkey, a dog, a cat and a cockerel) played such dreadful music that it put even robbers to flight, you will enjoy the varying kinds of countryside. And do stop over at Bodenwerder. That was where Baron Münchhausen told his breathtaking lies.

Visit Germany and let the Fairy Tale Route be your guide.



- 1 Bremen
- 2 Bodenwerder, home of Münchhausen
- 3 Hanau, birthplace of the Brothers Grimm
- 4 Alsfeld

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt



The German Tribune

May 5, 1985
Fourth year - No. 1177 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Economic summiteers gather once again

Wirtschafts Woche

Economic cycles come and go, and they have been almost simultaneously in all industrialized countries in autumn 1982. Against this background it seems plausible to argue that the international economic situation is in a state of flux (or rather) of us all.

The international nexus has often been a source of alibi for the politicians. When the economy was in the doldrums the international situation was to blame.

Viewed in the longer term, national economies differ from each other much less than the short-term economic cycle.

Special summit report
Pages 6, 8, 7

After the war Britain was a first-rate industrial power, whereas Japan was still on the verge of becoming a major power.

So what the summiteers wanted was to ensure that everyone inflated simultaneously and ran up fresh government deficits at the same time.

But if the policy doesn't work there is no point in discussing it at a summit meeting. So the economic summit no longer serves its initial purpose.

The US President was first to say that each country is responsible for its own prosperity and must look after the state of its own economy.

Argentina and Uruguay once were countries to which Italians and Spaniards migrated to escape from poverty in their home countries; nowadays one could easily migrate the trend being reversed.

In Switzerland, which is particularly dependent on exports, the waves of international economic cycles have been mounted to much more than a minor extent.

In the 1960s every country was given to complaining about the economic policies of the others.

of-payments problems in its bids to give the economy a boost. The result was what came to be known as a stop-and-go policy.

The Federal Republic of Germany complained of "imported inflation," while the United States ran into balance-of-payments difficulties and called on its creditors not to insist on repayment. This was known as the good creditor policy.

France realised that as long as borders were open its policy of *planification* was doomed to inefficiency.

It was eventually agreed that the system of fixed exchange rates was the root of all evil. Floating rates, it was generally felt, would enable countries to pursue economic policies most in keeping with their interests.

This hope was dashed by the 1975 recession, and it was a twofold disappointment.

First, economic policymakers had felt they now had the means of stabilising the economy at a high level. Second, every country had hoped to be able to batten down the hatches and prevent economic fluctuations in other countries from affecting the domestic economy.

Yet they were still elbowed by the recession when it came, and as usual it affected the entire Western world.

That was the situation when Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt invented the international economic summit.

If economic cycles could not be kept separate, then at least economic policies could be coordinated.

This consensus no longer exists. The cyclical theory on which it was based has not proved effective.

Inflation was felt to be an effective means of fighting unemployment and deficit spending was felt to be the way to prime the pumps of economic recovery.

After the war Britain was a first-rate industrial power, whereas Japan was still on the verge of becoming a major power.

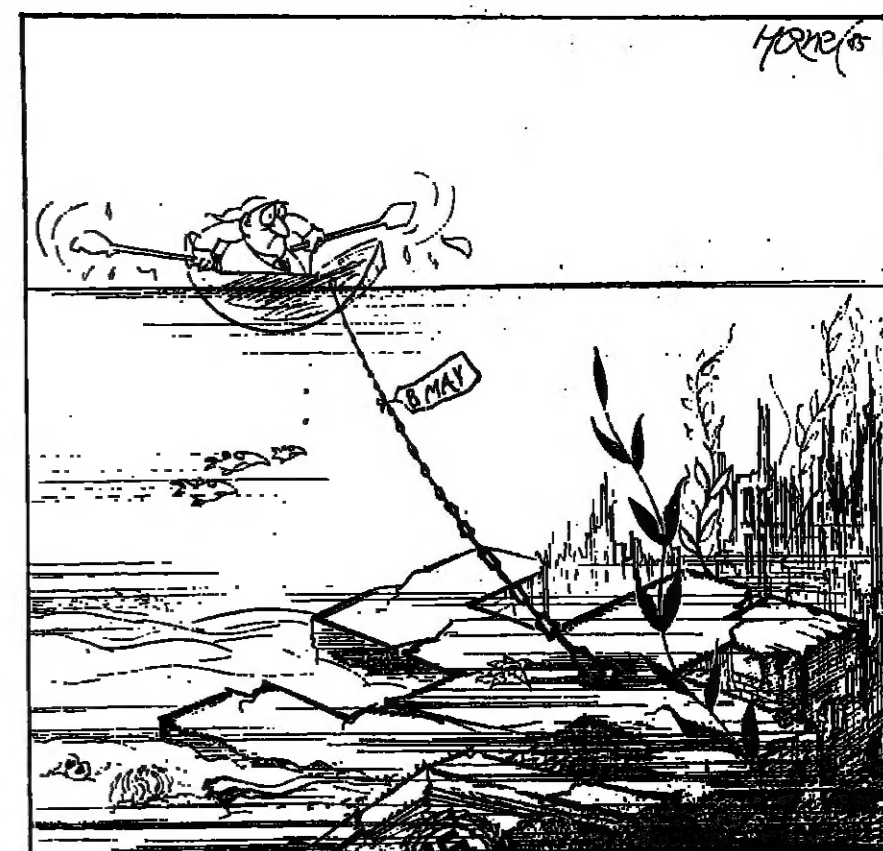
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(Cartoon: Hanel/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

Reagan arrives amid doubts and emotions

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS-UND FINANZZEITUNG

The way has been paved to the Bonn economic summit and there is little likelihood of the Federal Republic coming under heavy pressure from its partners, as happened when the first summit was held in Germany in 1978.

The agenda is a matter of course. It simply consists of cataloguing all the problems that have defied solution for years while rearranging them in an order that imparts a special character to this gathering in the summit annals.

The declaration of war on protectionism, to single out but one point, is nothing new. Yet even agreement on deadlines for a fresh round of Gatt talks on the subject could be rated a success.

The summit is unlikely to set the world tingling with excitement for any length of time in its wake.

After the hectic debate on President Reagan's schedule during his state visit to the Federal Republic fresh waves of German-American misunderstanding can no longer be ruled out.

His visit will immediately follow the Bonn summit, but plans for this second major May event in the Federal Republic of Germany seem to have come a cropper. In recent years missile deployment, sanctions, the peace movement

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Western European Union meets — and reaches an indecision

DIE ZEIT

The seven member-governments of the Western European Union seem to have bitten off more than they could chew in resolving last autumn in Rome to breathe fresh life into the WEU and transform it into a forum for independent European security policy.

The two-day Bonn conference of the 14 WEU Foreign and Defence Ministers, representing Britain, France, Germany, Benelux and Italy, was a feeble affair.

The Western European allies were unable to agree on a joint approach to President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative.

And although President Reagan seems sure to ask them for a definite decision at the Bonn economic summit, they are not even sure whether they want to take part in the SDI research programme.

The formula on which the WEU conference reached agreement reflected nothing so much as indecision. The Ministers were to continue their deliberations to coordinate "as far as possible" a response to the American offer.

So a joint European approach is by no means certain, which puts paid to hopes that the Europeans might be able to effectively influence the US concept.

Naturally no-one wants to upset Washington by being overly blunt. Britain in particular was extremely compliant after an American move in March.

Richard Burt, US ambassador-to-be in Bonn and currently in charge of European affairs at the State Department, wrote to WEU member-governments urging them not to commit themselves to viewpoints on strategic affairs or disarmament policy.

If the decision had been Britain's to take there would have been no mention whatever of talks on anti-missile systems in space at the WEU conference.

The Western European Union is indeed not a decision-making body on security issues, and certainly not one entitled to pursue policies of its own alongside Nato.

It is a forum in which the defence policy interests of the seven member-countries can be coordinated and the effects of East-West relations on Europe jointly assessed.

That is why there are — and can be — no limits to the topics the WEU may choose to discuss. There is certainly no reason why President Reagan's space plans should not be debated.

In many respects views have come closer. Chancellor Kohl with his reservations on SDI has much in common with the British viewpoint outlined first by Mrs Thatcher and then, in greater detail in March, by Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Differences of viewpoint with President Mitterrand are in degree only, and gradually being reduced now France has abandoned its strict rejection in favour of a more diplomatic approach.

At the WEU conference in Bonn critical European views were reflected in the following three statements:

First, deterrent strategy based on

both conventional and nuclear forces must be maintained.

Second, the aim to be pursued at the Geneva talks must be strategic stability on the basis of a balance of power at a low level.

Third, Western Europeans hope there will be a drastic reduction in strategic and medium-range missiles, an end to the terrestrial arms race and no arms race in outer space.

Ought the Europeans, regardless of remaining very much aloof from President Reagan's SDI project, nonetheless to take part in the SDI research programme? This was a question the WEU conference failed to answer.

Herr Kohl is in principle willing to collaborate with the Americans, Britain, France and Italy have also shown interest. But on what terms?

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas has totally changed the situation with his plan for a European technology community, Eureka.

He is keenly supported by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the project was discussed at the WEU conference although membership is envisaged for member-countries of the European Community.

But Bonn is not yet clear what the purpose of the exercise is. Is Eureka to be a vehicle for Euro-American cooperation with the aim of strengthening Europe's hand?

Or is it envisaged as a counter-project with the purpose of counteracting the nightmare vision of Europe's destiny being that of a sub-contractor to the United States manufacturing products under licence and relegated to the level of "taking in" technology?

This example illustrates the enormous problem created by any attempt to bring together the right combination of European countries with the potential and both able and willing to collaborate, and to do so without misleading others.

The problem arises in security matters because the WEU is partly a Euro-

pean group within Nato and partly a bloc of leading member-countries of the European Community. It also arises in technology or in the context of the European Monetary System. The last word has yet to be spoken on the future of the WEU.

France was keen on breathing fresh life into it, feeling extremely unsure of foreign policy trends in neighbouring Germany after the missile deployment debate.

Germany was suspected of inclinations to drift away from the West, and the WEU was an opportunity of reinforcing its ties with the West. That no longer being necessary, the WEU drive has lost momentum.

M. Mitterrand now favours a much more far-reaching project, European Union, and Herr Kohl is fully agreed with him on this idea.

The European Union is to bring together everything that has evolved outside the scope of the Treaty of Rome in the past 15 years: formal foreign policy cooperation, the EMS, the projected technology community and, last but not least, security policy.

Proposals drawn up by a special commission, the Dooge Committee, are in many cases identical, in meaning if not verbatim, with the catalogue of tasks the WEU was to be resurrected to handle.

In other words, at the next Eurosummit in Milan European Community leaders will have to decide whether and on what terms they are to agree on an ambitious European Union project.

Naturally, by no means all Common Market countries will be able or willing to take part. If need be, or so it seems, Bonn and Paris would be prepared to start the ball rolling, although great expectations are placed in Britain and Italy.

The economic summit

Continued from page 1

and bomb raids on US forces installations have repeatedly prompted opinion-makers in the United States to take a close look at the state of German-American relations.

These and similarly explosive issues remain potential bombshells. Experienced observers of the US media note time and again that events overseas are presented in terms of theatrical management in the United States. There must also, of course, be an American angle.

This is even more valid when the domestic dispute, as is currently the case, can be projected against the backdrop of a gloomy historic reality.

Given the hectic tenor of debate it would be as well to recall in Germany that in the early post-war years political emigrés to the United States deserved credit for having resisted the temptation to be embittered and for having kept their sights firmly set on

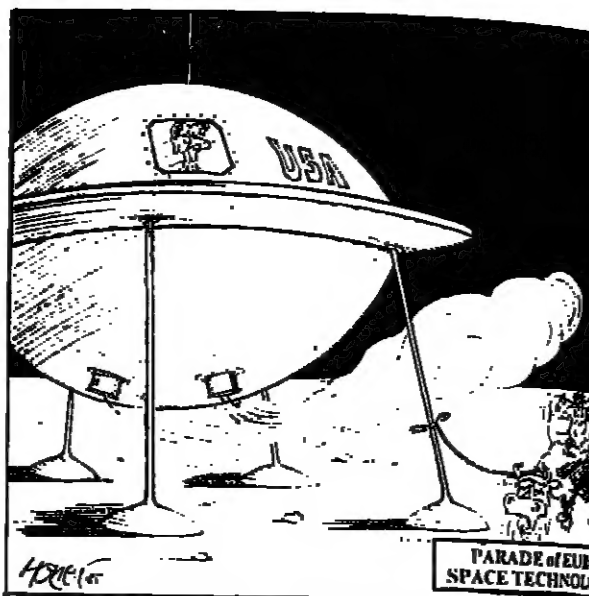
the future. At the intersection between the burden of history and the political future it is difficult for each successive generation, as the current discussion shows, to resist the temptation to drop out of a situation in which it has arrived by virtue of history and geography.

Will President Reagan be able, in the tempestuous media context of his visit, to point the way to the bridge? It is a challenge that will be a yardstick of his qualities of statesmanship.

Statements and reactions can be sure to have their backlash on the climate of German-American relations, which is increasingly being determined by the younger generation.

Much of what will be said in Bonn about the state of and change in the international economy could in contrast become just printed paper even before the ink is dry.

Gerd Janssen
(Händelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 26 April 1985)



(Cartoon: Hanel/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

At all events the much-vaunted "speed" Europe could be set in motion. Whether the WEU continues to be suitable as a security policy vehicle depends on the outcome of these undeniably difficult negotiations.

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 April 1985)

The WEU story

WEU, short for Western European Union, is a mutual assistance pact set up in 1948.

Its initial members, the signatories of the Brussels Pact, were Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The Federal Republic and Italy joined in 1955.

The original Western Union was set up in 1948 to oppose any further German aggression.

WEU member-countries also pledged to promote European unity.

Politically the WEU played a part in controlling German rearmament. By the terms of the WEU Treaty the Federal Republic of Germany was long bound to certain arms restrictions.

These restrictions have since been largely lifted — apart, that is, from Bonn's renunciation of atomic, biological and chemical weapons.

Between 1958 and 1973 the WEU was also a kind of political link between the six Common Market countries and Britain.

It still retains a similar function, a military one, since France withdrew from the military organisation of Nato.

The WEU has for 30 years been overshadowed by Nato, to which all its members belong.

Since the end of 1983 France has sought to reinvigorate the WEU.

It is envisaged partly as a political peace-maker for the European Community and partly as a European counterweight to the United States in Nato.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 24 April 1985)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Pöhl Verlag GmbH, 23 Schöne Aussicht
D-2000 Hamburg 78, Tel. 22 85 1, Telex 02-14733
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz Editor: Alexander Jochen
English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett —
Distribution manager: Georgine Pöhl

Advertising rates: No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Hammer-Druck, Hameln

Distributed in the USA by MASS MAILINGS, Inc.
West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with the newspaper in the Federal Republic of Germany

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on this wrapper, between the lines. Above your address



(Photo: Sven Simon)

James Rau... will he go even?

People are not getting as excited about the North Rhine-Westphalia Land election on 12 May as the political parties are making out.

In 1980 the turnout was 80 per cent. This time there are fears that it will drop to 60 per cent unless something spectacular happens.

The parties are plastering the Land with posters and advertising on radio and television. But that is not making the campaign any less laborious.

One reason is that the governing Social Democrats are not attacking the Christian Democrats. They are instead campaigning on the performance of the Premier, Johannes Rau, and his government.

The SPD claims that the policies of the governing Bonn coalition are creating "starvation" in Germany by reducing social benefits.

Rau wants to keep the campaign in the Land itself rather than on what is happening in Bonn.

The reason is that the party identifies itself closely with North Rhine-Westphalia and this identification is increasing. It says it has created a feeling of "pride in the Land."

Because of this, some of the party's claims in its campaign literature seem to suggest that the Land is flowing with milk and honey; there is no need to worry about any public debt; that there is no trouble in the steel industry; that there are no problems in other industries either; that unemployment is not a serious problem.

The Christian Democrats are busily campaigning on charges that after 19 years of rule, the SPD has brought North Rhine-Westphalia to the brink of ruin.

They say that debt is massive, that the Land has no future and is no longer manageable.

However, this sort of allegation might surprise many voters who do not want to see the Land portrayed in such terms.

The CDU has gone into the election with the slogan "An upswing only with the SPD have quickly capped that upswing only with all citizens pulling together."

The CDU has made a worse start than the SPD.

For a start, the Rhineland branch could not agree with the Westphalia branch on plans for an opening rally.

The Rhineland campaign opening in Cologne turned out to be vulgar, as it often is.

The Westphalia opening in Bochum was without Kohl of course — poorly attended.

On the other hand the SPD's North Rhine-Westphalia conference was an impressive theatrical production, with Rau

going on for the second time his "family

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Greens, FDP, complicating factors in State election

The largest of West Germany's *Länder*, North Rhine-Westphalia, goes to the polls next Sunday. The government is Social Democrat and the Premier, Johannes Rau, has been in office for seven years. In 1980, the SPD won 48.4 per cent of the vote and the CDU 43.2 per cent. The FDP and the Greens failed to make the cutoff of five per cent. They got 4.99 and 3 per cent respectively. The SPD has 106 seats in the assembly compared with the CDU's 95. Rau is being talked about by many as a possible SPD candidate for Chancellor at the next general election in 1987. His CDU opponent next week is Bernhard Worms, but Worms' campaign has been hampered by an internal party dispute involving himself and another leading party figure, Kurt Biedenkopf. Polls are predicting that the SPD will be the biggest single party. They are also predicting that both the FDP and the Greens will get more than five per cent. This would mean that the SPD might have trouble getting an absolute majority. North-Rhine-Westphalia, which has a population of 17 million, includes the industrial Ruhr region plus the federal capital, Bonn. The seat of government is Düsseldorf.

meeting" performance to an audience of 100,000 party members.

If it comes to seeing which party can bring out to the polls supporters in their masses the SPD is way ahead of the CDU.

In addition the opening of the CDU campaign was overshadowed by disputes between Kurt Biedenkopf, who is the head of the Westphalia branch of the party, and Bernhard Worms, head of the Rhineland branch and the challenger to Rau.

Worms' problem is that over the past two years he has not been able to win recognition as a competent politician.

Since Biedenkopf in one of his election brochures described himself as "The head" and his keenest opponent as "The mediocrity", many voters and CDU members are asking themselves what metaphor is left for Worms.

Biedenkopf has not allowed his picture to appear with Worms on campaign posters. He maintains that this would be "counterproductive".

All attempts at appeasement have not been able to hide that fact that a spanner has been thrown into the works. And it is a spanner that has reduced the party's chances of winning.

All the polls have been consistent over the past few months. The SPD seems certain of coming out on top, probably getting between 46 to 48 per cent of the vote with the CDU getting between 40 and 42 per cent. The question is of course whether the SPD will get an absolute majority.

This will depend on the Greens and the FDP. Last time neither got more than five per cent of the vote and thus failed to get into the assembly.

Chancellor waits for voters to deliver half-term report

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Chancellor Kohl knows that the North Rhine-Westphalia Land election on 12 May will be in part a verdict on his government in Bonn.

North-Rhine-Westphalia has a third of the entire electorate of the Federal Republic and therefore more representative than the tiny Saar, where the SPD defeated the ruling CDU in March.

At the end of last year, the Bonn government issued a statement assessing its own performance. Chancellor Kohl was presented as Mr Lucky.

The statement said: "After two years in office state finances are in order, the economy is on the upturn, short-time working is being cut drastically and the rise in unemployment has been halted, pensions have been made secure and the social welfare system strengthened."

But since then, things have changed — and not to the government's advantage.

Public opinion does believe that the Bonn coalition is better at repairing state finances and reduce public debt than the SPD. Most people believe that the government has refuted the economy.

But it has been shown over a long period that economic growth of be-

tween two and three per cent is not enough to provide jobs for the two million unemployed.

At the beginning of this year, the government issued another statement, this time expressing doubt that the rise in unemployment would be stopped.

Also the question of whether pensions are indeed safe is constantly being questioned because some parts of social insurance have a cash shortage.

Amendments of this sort to government statements four months after the event show how swiftly the Chancellor could lose his important secret coalition partner — optimism.

Kohl will build on this ally in his new government statement. With a glance towards the world economic summit in Bonn, Kohl has already announced that his government will "step by step" work for more economic growth and for more jobs. Progress is then not yet certain.

Many steps seem like false steps. As a pioneer in environmental protection Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann stoked up a month-long discussion on car exhausts, which caused new car buyers to hold back.

In the course of media policies that would allegedly create jobs Posts Minister Christian Schwarz-Schilling got tangled up in the issue of cabling.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner, after weathering the General Kiesling affair, has remained quiet because his Nato colleagues have out-smarted him



Bernhard Worms... campaign problems.

But this time, the polls reckon both will make it. They are more certain about the FDP.

The SPD has been pushing environmental issues in an attempt to siphon off would-be Green voters.

On the other hand, the CDU has the question of what to do about the FDP. Should it give it some help with the aim of getting a coalition partner?

The CDU leadership in Düsseldorf must weigh up just how vulnerable the party is. According to election law in Düsseldorf voters do not have a second choice, so there is no hope of splitting the vote.

This makes it exciting and tormenting for those concerned.

Lothar Beverunge
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 24 April 1985)

in a procurement programme for the West German air force.

Another example of how luck can help is West German-American relations. As evidence of his new policies Kohl has striven for good relations between Bonn and Washington since he came to power.

But never in the Federal Republic history has a state visit been so badly managed and flogged to death as President Reagan's three-day visit in May. It is not clear if the major errors stem from the White House or the Chancellery.

These unnecessary and avoidable accidents have had the effect that Kohl's popularity has not risen much beyond the "satisfactory" or "adequate" level, despite the fact that during his period there has been a sense of harmony for domestic and foreign policies.

His popularity remains relatively lukewarm and recently it seems to have been sinking among his own supporters.

Politically Bonn is surviving not because of Kohl's own powers but because of the SPD's weaknesses.

Nevertheless the North Rhine-Westphalia election is more important for the rest of the legislative period and the starting position for the next Bundestag election than the debate over a further Kohl government statement.

If the CDU and the FDP cannot topple Premier Johannes Rau and the SPD from office, then the SPD in Bonn may have in Rau a replacement for Hans-Jochen Vogel as challenger to Kohl in the next general election in 1987.

Rudolf Strauch
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 April 1985)

■ 40 YEARS AGO

Bergen-Belsen:
corpses
on the Heath

Gallows capable of taking five victims at once — Bergen-Belsen 40 years ago (Photo: Archiv/Gerstenberg)

Heather has reclaimed what 40 years ago was Belsen concentration camp in the Lüneburg Heath. For many years nature seemed reluctant to return to the site of the crematorium, but it too is now green and pleasant.

All that remains as a reminder of the camp is 14 mass graves and a memorial. Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl and head of state Richard von Weizsäcker attended a ceremony there on 21 April in memory of those who died at Belsen before the British liberated the camp just before the end of the war.

On 5 May it will be visited by President Reagan, who has decided to include the former concentration camp in his tour schedule.

One of the best-known of the roughly 50,000 people who died at Belsen was Anne Frank. She, her sister Margot and other Jewish friends of the family hid from the Nazis for two years in the attic of a house in Amsterdam.

Then, in August 1944, they were betrayed and arrested. All they left behind was the world-famous diary of a 15-year-old girl.

She was first sent to Westerborg, a Jewish transit camp, then to Auschwitz and finally to Belsen, where she must have died in March 1945 in the midst of an inferno of epidemics, starvation and death.

No-one knows where Anne Frank was buried. No-one knows exactly where any of the nearly 40,000 prisoners who died of dysentery and typhoid, hunger and thirst before the British Second Army liberated the camp on 15 April 1945 were buried.

A further 13,000 died in the days and weeks that followed — despite medical attention.

"All over the camp," a British doctor reported, "there were corpses piled to varying heights. The open drains were full of corpses and in the barracks many lay dead alongside the living on the same bed."

The British forces took the 40,000 survivors to nearby Wehrmacht barracks. As for the camp, a *Reuters* news item was soon to report:

"Belsen concentration camp is to be burnt to the ground on 21 May. The British authorities feel its destruction by fire is the only, sure way to prevent the spread of infection and infectious diseases to a large area of north Germany."

Belsen was set up in part of a camp for Soviet prisoners of war and was initially a camp where Jewish prisoners were given preferential treatment.

They were prisoners who were to be

swapped for German detainees abroad, and they were given fairly good treatment until plans for an exchange of prisoners fell through.

It did not become a death camp on a large scale until the end of 1944 when the Allied advance forced the SS to evacuate more and more prisoners from Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald and other concentration camps.

The number imprisoned at Belsen increased from about 15,000 in November 1944 to roughly 60,000 in April 1945. All they were given to eat was turnip soup.

There were epidemics of various diseases in the totally overcrowded barracks where gaunt and haggard prisoners often had to sleep where they crouched or sat.

"When I went round by the camp," 78-year-old Belsen farmer Heinrich Becker recalls, "I could hear children playing and singing."

That was in the summer of 1944. "That winter was one of utter confusion, with one train after another steaming in."

It was, he says, dangerous to talk about what went on in the camp. Belsen was a village consisting of five farms, a pub and the camp.

It lay in the middle of an extensive military training area (and still does).

Allgemeine Zeitung

There is no signpost, no plaque and no reference of any kind to the place from which Anne Frank in all probability went to her death.

The facilities where documents relating to the concentration camp are exhibited are to be enlarged and the exhibits brought up to date, all parties in the Lower Saxon state assembly have agreed.

But members of the VVN, the association of people persecuted by the Nazi regime, which manned a week-long guard in memory of the camp's liberation, remain unconvinced that the authorities really care.

"On the anniversary, 15 April, no-one was here, not even the burgomaster," one demonstrator says. And no mention at all is made of the 50,000 Soviet prisoners of war who lie buried not far away, he adds.

Ludwig Greven
(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 22 April 1985)

The final solution

An emergency decree in 1933 gave the Nazis the power to take political opponents into "protective custody", concentrating camps.

Later came bible students, clergymen, Jews, homosexuals, gypsies and criminals.

In 1939 there were about 25,000 prisoners. By January 1945 there were 23 main camps and over 1,000 outstations staffed by about 40,000 SS guards.

The so-called final solution of the Jewish Question began in 1943.

Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka were set up solely as death camps.

An estimated five to six million Jews and at least half a million non-Jews died in the camps.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 22 April 1985)

Auschwitz typing pool — death certificates round the clock

Maria Zöbisch, a Munich woman, was notified by the commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp on 14 April 1944 that her husband had died.

The letter is part of an exhibition of camp mail on show at a Nuremberg church.

"Your husband reported sick," the letter began. "Despite medical attention he failed to recover... Please let me say how sorry I am... Signed: Commanding Officer"

What he didn't say was what her husband had died of; the authorities took good care to ensure that no-one did.

The SS carefully censored all mail to make sure nothing but favourable details of camp life and treatment was leaked to the outside world.

Even notification of the next of kin when a prisoner died was by means of standardised turns of phrase.

Hermann Reineck, prisoner No. 63387, 21 Block, now general secretary of the Auschwitz Association, noted the following in his diary:

"In the secretariat we have to write official death certificates and medical reports for the Waffen-SS: SS service mail, they call it..."

"We are a pool of 16 typists in the day shift, working from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Then the night shift takes over. We work round the clock — writing about death."

Reineck's diary is also on show at the camp mail exhibition organised by a Protestant Church group that helps former concentration camp prisoners now living in Poland.

The exhibition has been arranged 40 years after Auschwitz and other camps were liberated to remind people of the appalling misdeeds committed on Germany's behalf.

The letters, documents and photographs on show at the Egidienkirche in Nuremberg are intended both as a reminder and for further effect.

Ludwig Markert of the church study centre says it is hoped the exhibition will contribute toward nipping in the bud discrimination of people who hold minority views or belong to minority communities or, simply, are foreigners.

Volker Diekmann
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 April 1985)

ECONOMIC SUMMIT A special report

Heads of government of the seven leading industrialised countries are meeting in Bonn for the Western economic summit.

They have no lack of controversial issues to discuss. The crux, as so often in Bonn, is the situation in America.

Bonn is the 11th summit; the first was at Rambouillet, near Paris, in November 1975.

There were only six. Canada was the missing nation. It joined up the next year, in Puerto Rico in 1976.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt presided over the proceedings at Rambouillet.

At this meeting was all about exchange rates. The main concern of the British, French, German, Italian and Japanese leaders 10 years ago was, in fact, to tame exchange rates that were wild.

After the dollar was floated in March 1973, exchange markets ran riot and Western leaders felt it would be better to return to a fixed rate.

In this respect there has been no change over the years. France again advocates at Bonn an international monetary conference. Exchange fluctuations are felt more than ever to be a burden on the international economy.

Monetary policy is only one of a long list of problems on the summit agenda. Growing protectionism in foreign trade continues to worry Western leaders. The Japanese would be particularly keen if tougher trade restrictions were imposed to limit their access to the American market; Western Europe couldn't be at all happy either.

The Third World's debt crisis is also weighing away alarmingly, giving everyone food for thought.

As part of the debate on how better to integrate the developing countries in the international economy the Bonn summit will continue the quest for a solution to the debt crisis, probably in the form of a new international fund.

Last but not least, the host government has opted in a creative mood for environmental protection as a summit topic.

Hans Tietmeyer, state secretary at the Finance Ministry and official in charge of organising the Bonn summit, sees the

current debate about President Reagan's visit to Germany and the legislation to make claiming that Jews were not gassed at Auschwitz a criminal offence shows this is still urgently needed.

"We still find it hard to own up to guilt," he says.

The exhibition at the Egidienkirche, arranged by the former curator of Auschwitz Museum, Tadeusz Szymanski, is deliberately kept in a low key.

The overriding impression is one of heaps of corpses, gallows and gaunt, skeleton-like figures. The emphasis is on what Herr Markert calls details distinct from the hell that was Auschwitz.

Prisoners tell in letters that have survived the years the tale of their hardships, fears and hopes.

But you have to read between the lines to gain any idea of what camp life was like. SS censorship was as brutal and pedantic as the entire bureaucratic machinery of murder.

Letters were written on alternate Sundays, but only by German prisoners. Jews, Russians or gypsies were not allowed to correspond with their families at all.

Letters from home were only handed out once a fortnight too. Two letters or two postcards per head were all that was allowed.

Yet details the censors failed to suppress didn't feel mattered are extremely revealing despite their brevity.

"You write so little yet your letters mean everything to me and are awaited with longing," one prisoner wrote.

Another wrote to his Luise: "Those who die in action can count themselves lucky."

Resignation isn't the only sentiment. Hope springs eternal, as when a Frenchman writes to his dearest: "Unfortunately we can do nothing but wait for the release we can but hope will come."

Only about 60,000 prisoners survived to experience the release he had in mind. "You can die several times in Auschwitz," Reineck wrote in his diary in April 1944.

Volker Diekmann
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 April 1985)

How the Seven are shaping up



	Federal Republic of Germany	France	Britain	Italy	Japan	Canada	USA
1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984
GDP	2.8	2.0	2.6	2.1	2.5	2.2	2.3
Unemployment	1.0	1.0	1.6	2.7	1.8	1.5	1.5
Trade balance	0.5	-1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Exports	9.3	4.0	9.5	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0
Imports	8.1	2.8	10.0	8.8	8.8	8.8	8.8
Consumer prices	2.4	7.5	6.0	10.7	10.7	10.7	10.7
Unemployment (in % of workforce)	9.1	10.2	12.7	10.7	10.7	10.7	10.7

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Table talk and tea and chats about banks and money and all that

environmental protection debate as a special German effect.

He has visions of a clarion call being sounded in Bonn to ensure that the subject is taken seriously all over the world.

Limits to growth, he says, may well arise if we fail to take environmental protection seriously.

The limits to growth are only too readily apparent, especially in Europe. The international economic recovery has yet to really come into its own in European industrial countries.

Overall economic growth rates may have increased slightly, but there cannot so far be said to have been self-sustaining growth and recovery.

Economists are not prepared to commit themselves on growth forecasts, although the ILO economic research institute in Kiel, which is not usually optimistic in such matters, says there have been a number of favourable developments in the international economy this spring.

Production continues to increase, unemployment is past its worst and inflation has markedly declined. International debt problems have grown less acute too.

That may be something but it is by no means enough. "Economic development in the Western industrialised countries" — no more and no less — is currently running at the slow growth rate it re-

verted to last year," says the RWI economic research institute in Essen.

Yet economic growth conditions in individual countries and groups of countries continue to vary widely, the Essen economists say. They feel varying exchange rate trends reflect this state of affairs.

European currencies have uniformly lost heavily in relation to the dollar, whereas the Japanese are least affected by a decline in the exchange rate of the yen.

Yet Japanese exporters were still able to step up exports to the United States by 45 per cent in the first three quarters of 1984, whereas British exports to the United States were up by a mere six per cent despite sterling's decline against the dollar.

"Japan," says Anneliese Herrmann of the ILO economic research institute, Munich, "has profited to a particularly great extent from the growing capacity of the US market."

Since 1982 Japan has increased its trading surplus with the United States by about \$20bn, or roughly the same amount as Western European industrialised countries combined.

It attributes this inundation of the US market with Japanese products to favourable basic prices, to products highly competitive in non-price respects and to close ties maintained by Japanese

industry with the US market. In 1984 Japan's current account surplus was a bumper \$33bn — a far cry from Western Europe's combined surplus of \$6bn (which was \$5bn more than the year before).

Even so, Western Europe has benefited from the undertow of higher US imports. German exports to the USA were up 30 per cent last year, while France and Italy achieved even higher growth rates.

The European economy is even more heavily dependent than Japan's on American imports, and "economic development in the United States continues to have a motive force that, this year at least, will both ensure continued economic recovery in America and help to ensure continued growth elsewhere," says the DIW economic research institute, Berlin.

That should reassure those who are worried that American predominance must augur ill. There are widespread fears that high US budget and trading deficits may hold the potential for a breakdown in international economic development.

Yet as long as these deficits are the only motive force behind international economic development such criticism of US economic policy will be wide of the mark.

Paul A. Volcker of the US Federal Reserve System says the United States has for several years provided virtually the only economic impetus worldwide. American economic expansion, the Fed chairman says, has given a powerful boost to the exports of other industrialised countries.

US exports in contrast have suffered not only from the high exchange rate of the dollar but also from poor demand in other countries.

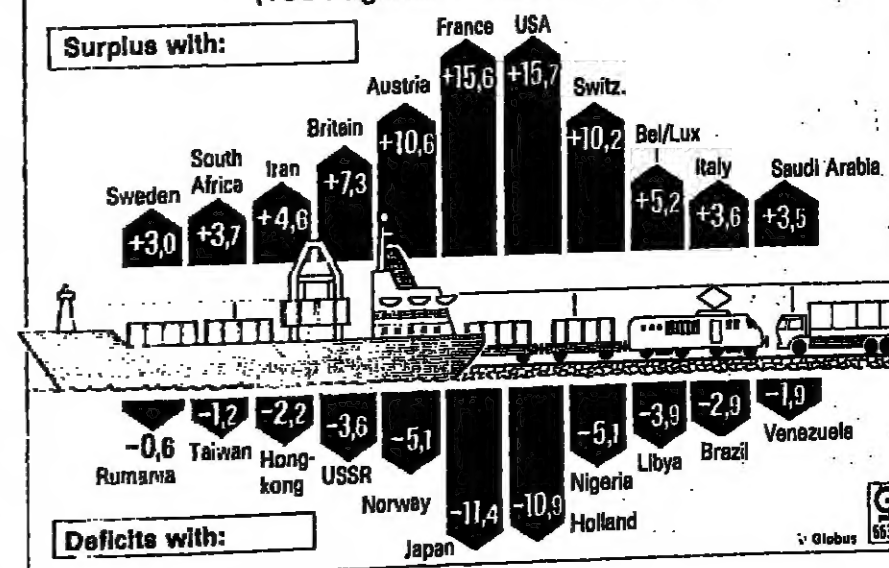
Instead of lamenting about the dollar's exchange rate, says Nobel laureate Milton Friedman, America's economic partners ought to do more for their own economic growth.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl has accordingly taken good care not to accuse the Americans of budgetary and fiscal shortcomings.

Bonn is even prepared to accept US criticism of "rigid, hidebound structures" in Europe, or so one adviser to Chancellor Kohl feels. In return the

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Pluses and minuses in German trade (1984 figures in billions of marks)



ECONOMIC SUMMIT A special report

Continued from page 5

Chancellor and his Ministers shrewdly expect backing for their plans to improve overall investment conditions in the Federal Republic.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, a level-headed man not given to flights of fancy, sounds an enthusiastic note on the way US economic and financial policy has worked.

"In the United States," he says, "forces have been released that aim at much more private initiative, more readiness to improve economic performance and a greater sense of individual responsibility."

The resulting dynamism has been so powerful, he feels, that not even the burden imposed on capital markets by high budget deficits and the swift increase in imports have been able to hamper the pace of US economic recovery to any great extent.

Many Americans disagree. Last year alone, US economists reckon, America's foreign trade deficit reduced the country's economic growth rate by over two per cent.

A booming economy could take the deficit (\$13bn in trade with the European Community alone) in its stride, but this year, with economic growth down in the United States, the deficit is likely to hurt.

Besides, the wisdom of US economic policy is by no means undisputed. "With its tax cuts the US government undoubtedly paved the way for more growth and higher employment," the IFW says.

But it is critical of "interventionist features in the form of drastic reductions in depreciation periods that in effect lead to the state subsidising the cost of capital investment."

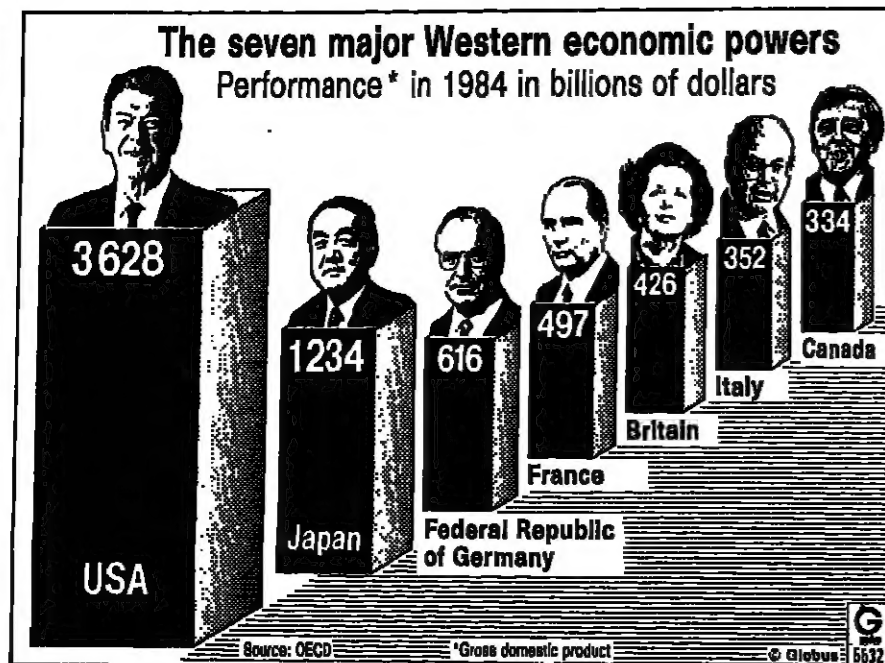
The result could well be investment in sectors that in the long run will not earn high yields.

Governments in Western Europe and Japan are less generous, with budget consolidation being given pride of place among financial policy objectives.

Herr Stoltenberg accordingly warns that high interest rates and an unstable exchange rate structure could pose a serious threat to the international economy.

He very much hopes "the United States will take advantage now of its still favourable economic position to reach urgently needed decisions on reducing the budget deficit."

Continued and increasingly high deficits and the growing cost of debt fund-



ing are, Herr Stoltenberg argues, a growing threat to the United States itself.

"Sooner or later both the economic dynamism and the attraction of investment in the United States are going to suffer as a result."

The Americans have lately, when all is said and done, become net debtors to the rest of the world — for the first time since 1914.

The Americans want to harness the Bonn economic summit to tackle their foreign trade deficit. They are in particularly heavy dispute with the Japanese at present.

Last year America's deficit in trade with Japan alone totalled nearly \$37bn, or three times as much as in 1980, and this year the US Trade Department expects a deficit of roughly \$50bn.

Yet the dispute between President Reagan and Prime Minister Nakasone is not just a "family affair." All over the world foreign trade is increasingly subject to restraint of many kinds.

With economic growth running low and unemployment running high even committed free-traders are tempted to impose import restrictions.

A working party headed by the former president of the Bank for International Settlements, Fritz Leutwiler of Switzerland, has published in time for the Bonn summit a 60-page paper outlining a 15-point programme of immediate moves to counteract protectionism.

The proposals include lower subsidies to export-oriented industries, deregulation of trade in agricultural produce and abolition of restrictions on trade in textiles and clothing.

The authors of the report are convinced the international economy could

revert to the growth rates that occurred between 1950 and 1973 if only trade barriers were dismantled.

The industrialised countries were also confronted with the evils of protectionism at the Paris conference of the OECD Council of Ministers.

Trade restrictions increase the prices of goods affected by up to 10 per cent, according to a survey compiled by the OECD secretariat.

The seven heads of government and their Ministers will be paving the way at the Bonn summit for a fresh round of Gatt talks on reducing protectionism.

Agreement has yet to be reached on whether the new Gatt round should get under way next year or a preparatory conference should first be held to embark on initial steps in the direction of breaking down trade barriers.

A fresh Gatt round is very much in keeping with the Bonn government's policy line. Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann has been particularly active in canvassing for a new round of Gatt talks as soon as possible.

He feels Brussels, of all places, would be a suitable venue. Yet the Belgian capital can hardly claim to have been a stronghold of free trade lately.

Herr Bangemann has had no compunction in using fine words to state his case:

"The world expects the leading trading nations to embark on clear moves now to liberalise imports. They bear the brunt of responsibility for free world trade."

The world is indeed waiting, especially the Third World. "Export growth in the threshold countries," says the Prognos economic research institute of Basle, "will be practically halved between 1983 and 1989 in comparison with 1973 to 1983."

Oil exports are growing less important, whereas semi-finished and finished products will increasingly compete in world markets. In 1989, Prognos forecasts, the threshold countries will sell roughly \$230bn worth of industrial goods in world markets.

That, however, presupposes the industrialised countries do not limit access to their home markets. Everything that makes imports less competitive will reduce the heavily indebted threshold countries' prospects of being able to fund their debts.

"A breakthrough in trade liberalisation," says Jacques de la Rosière of the International Monetary Fund, "would have extraordinarily beneficial effects" on the economic position of the Third World.

If the developing countries were able

Continued on page 7

How it began, by Helmut Schmidt

Giscard and I invented the idea of economic summits in 1975. We had no difficulty in persuading President Ford, Prime Minister Wilson and the Japanese and Italians to take part.

The first was at Rambouillet, a small chateau large enough to house all the delegations.

The room where we met was small, big enough for 15 people at the most. The atmosphere was cordial.

There was no TV and no journalists covering the meeting itself. Neither were there press conferences with 2,000 pressmen three times a day.

All the journalists knew was there was to be a small joint press conference at the end of the meeting. It was at the village hall. Each of us said what he had to say, then it was all over.

The next summit was held at a golf club, the clubhouse of a golf club in Puerto Rico, far away from the bustle and bustle of civilisation and the media.

From then on it went from bad to worse, assuming the proportions of



Helmut Schmidt... summits have become theatrical performances.

media event. The third summit was in the City of London (the City is the financial area of London) in 1977.

There were all manner of festivities and any number of journalists and cameramen representing ARD, ZDF, BBC, CBS and what have you.

From then on most of the talking was done with the media in mind, and for domestic consumption. Summits are now theatrical performances; but time there were nearly 2,000 pressmen there.

Even so, I am still in favour of keeping them up. Summits are, for instance, occasions on which the seven heads of government or their Foreign or Finance Ministers have to come to terms with what may not suit them at all.

They must also consider how they are going to answer the questions asked.

It is hard work listening to other people, giving them a straight answer, answering cross-questioning and counter-attacks and learning in this way that there are occasions when compromise is a must.

The others likewise learn that there are points on which they must compromise.

It would doubtless be even better if there was a little less talking with the TV cameras and journalists in mind.

(Wirtschaftswoche, Düsseldorf, 19 April 1985)

ECONOMIC SUMMIT A special report

Continued from page 6

increase their exports to the industrial world by 7.5 per cent (rather than 5.5 per cent) per annum, their economic growth would run at six per cent and not 4.5 per cent.

Prognos says the debt crisis is already showing signs of easing off.

"Relative indebtedness will on average improve," the Basle institute writes in its report on the threshold countries.

Average improvement does not, however, mean that individual countries will be able to steer clear of substantial balance of payments difficulties.

While the Latin American countries have the worst behind them, the situation has still not begun to improve for the majority of countries in Black Africa.

The Ivory Coast, Zaire and Zambia are particularly heavily indebted and have no chance of being able to handle the critical situation without outside assistance.

Many poor countries around the world would stand to benefit not only from better sales prospects in industrialised countries.

The outlook for a reduction in debt levels will be gloomy, says Ifo's Helmut Herrmann, unless further scheduling agreements are accompanied by clear reductions in the rates of interest.

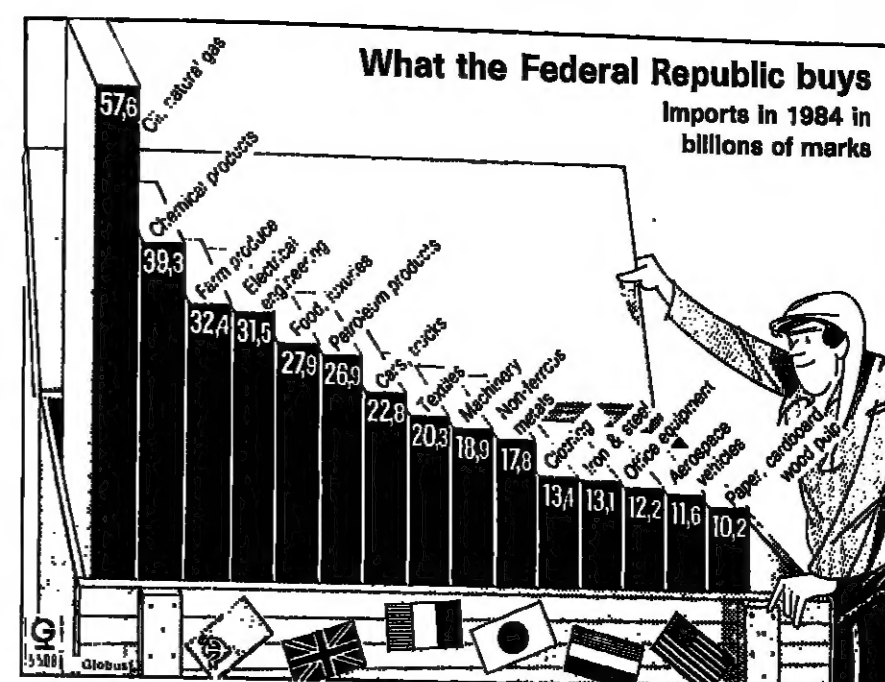
As soon as the debate gets round to interest rates the United States is back stage.

To quote former Bonn Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Karl Otto von der Groeben, "the economic policy of the United States of America the villain?"

The United States may be as a much more force behind economic growth, but it regularly comes in for criticism as interest rates.

US budget deficits likely to reach \$300bn in the years ahead there is little hope of any major reduction in interest rates.

Besides, financial policymakers in



the industrialised countries are keeping as tight a rein as possible in order to prevent any further decline in their currencies' exchange rates against the dollar.

Each and every per cent by which their currencies are effectively devalued serves to boost domestic inflation.

The dollar exchange rate has reached a degree of instability that makes any kind of calculation extremely difficult.

So it is hardly surprising that European governments are keen to find ways of limiting fluctuations in their currencies' exchange rates, especially against the dollar.

Former Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who criticised the Americans for their high interest rates at Western economic summits from the late 1970s on, still feels Europeans should take a joint stand against America.

"Why isn't the European Monetary System made strong enough," he asks, "to make it possible if need be to risk a conflict, albeit a limited one, with our major ally via high US capital imports and high interest rates?"

Herr Schmidt feels the threat alone could well be enough.

The Europeans probably wouldn't need to act on it.

The Americans take such threats in their stride. The US government feels the debate on a new international monetary order is pointless.

Monetary realignment does not enjoy high priority, President Reagan says.

If only the economic outlook in

An optimistic German view

Wirtschafts
Woche

Munich University econometrics specialist Walter Naggl is normally confident about German economic prospects.

The figures he forecasts make him feel safe in saying that "economic recovery, which many have already dismissed as a dead duck, will continue."

This year he is confident overall economic growth in the Federal Republic of Germany will exceed three per cent in real terms.

Exports will continue to be the mainstay of economic recovery.

Growth rates in net industrial output will be between three and four per cent in many neighbouring countries, and even higher in the United States, Scandinavia, Holland and Austria.

Naggl expects these countries to step up imports from Germany by over 10 per cent.

The high dollar exchange rate will not only make US products less competitive in industrialised countries; it will also boost German exports to non-Opec developing countries.

They too are expected to step up imports from the Federal Republic by between 10 and 15 per cent.

Exports to France, which is Germany's foremost trading partner, will in contrast make little headway.

Exports to the petroleum-exporting countries will decline until mid-1985 and then make time.

Naggl is also optimistic when it comes to readiness to invest on the part of German industry. The decline in construction investment (by over 10 per cent at times) will be offset by higher investment in plant and equipment.

Capital investment overall may not be higher than last year in the first quarter, but it will continue to increase.

But he doesn't expect private consumption to give the economy much of a fillip. "Improvements in consumer turnover," he says, "are for the time being more likely to be in terms of prices than of incomes."

Naggl is least confident when it comes to employment prospects. "Unemployment," he forecasts, "is likely to stagnate at a high level in the period under review."

(Wirtschaftswoche, Düsseldorf, 19 April 1985)



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■ THE HANOVER FAIR

An irresistible force, exuberance, goes to meet an immovable object, reality

Hanover's fair encourages exaggeration. This is not to say that the euphoria generated during the world's largest export goods fair should be played down. Statistics do justify much of the exuberance.

Even people in the steel industry, which is bedevilled by a structural crisis, believe that they are now on the way up. This should mean that, in the meantime, there should be no more redundancies.

However, it doesn't matter how much business is done after the fair, the fact is that expectations are too high to be fulfilled.

A good example is the computer industry, the driving force of the world economy. This industry talks about growth of more than 10 per cent and some manufacturers have doubled their turnover — Commodore, for example.

But several have fallen by the wayside because they have been unable to survive the hotbed price war.

The most under-rated element about the fair is this: in almost all sectors, competition is stronger than ever before.

This is true in the capital goods sector. Firms that have overdeveloped the American side of their business are now feeling the consequences of neglecting the European side more than Europe-oriented firms.

Stuttgarter Zeitung

The unusually large crowds at Hanover of course don't indicate any reduction in interest. But neither can they be regarded as the yardstick of the fair's success. Statistics in other years make this clear.

The first fair was in 1947 in factory sheds. It lasted 21 days instead of today's seven, and there were 750,000 visitors.

This was a record until last year. But this great success in 1947 was not converted into sales.

The German economic miracle began only in 1948, a year later when the currency was reformed.

Now, despite the scepticism, the German economy is performing well. Growth needs to be increased. That comes through exports and at Hanover, export industries dominate.

However, trade figures would be better if there was less political meddling. This is connected with an opinion-forming process which ties up energy which could better be used elsewhere.

This was a topic at a symposium during the fair. Many companies are worried about this dissipation of effort.

Hanover is not only a fair where or-

ders are placed and contracts signed. It is also a centre of communication.

So people become confused when they see the same person putting different arguments — one as a politician and the other as a private person.

Official statements maintain that this country would have an even greater share of world trade if wages and benefits were not so high.

Later, on the same fair stand, the same representatives say how wonderfully efficient West German workers are; that they are worth their pay because they earn more than they cost.

The cost-employment ratio decides what pay increase is feasible and what is not, and in this respect, according to many company bosses, West Germany is at the top of the league. Despite lamentations over high wage costs, no one is prepared to try and put his own house in order.

The problem seems always to be with the person next door. This is nothing new. What worries those concerned is that discussion is going in the wrong direction.

If 2.5 million unemployed is evidence of uncompetitive wages people are still not to be had from the streets prepared to settle for general wage adjustments downwards.

The starting point is correct, the conclusions wrong, according to the view expressed in Hanover by the owner of a company employing 1,000.

Many of his colleagues in the industry applauded this idea. But he maintained that lower wages meant less purchasing power. And, he asked, who would then buy the goods produced?

For firms to become competitive again they need better qualified workers, who, with their ability, must make their way up in the current wage structure.

This is the strategy followed by most. They invest in modern workplaces, not primarily for rationalisation reasons. Ever more frequently expansion schemes are given as the motives for purchasing machinery.

In the main many conversations in Hanover made it clear that there is less likelihood of unemployment where mechanical technicians are in the forefront.

New purchases, once regarded as job-killers, are the only guarantors of long-term workplaces. Only the demands made on workers by the machines have increased.

Despite the overall optimism many will be disappointed with growth as the universal remedy.

Without growth everything would be much worse. The export surplus alone guarantees half a million jobs. The quantity effect, however, benefits in the main the qualified.

The only way to success is a new orientation of discussions on labour policies with a forward-looking strategy to try to come to grips with the miserable situation, instead of resorting to tightening the belt even more.

Behind these hopes concern about the proposals to divide the fair into two parts, with a micro-electronic and capital goods fair in 1986, pale.

Norbert Sturm
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, Munich, 24 April 1985)

Research comes to the aid of industry

Research and new technology words written large at this year's Hanover Fair. One hall was reserved for current research projects from industry and scientific research.

This was devoted less to basic research but to applied research projects.

The Baden-Württemberg Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Engler said that industry and research got together at the Hanover Fair. It was important technological transfer.

This was disputed by a representative from Stuttgart University. He said: "Technological transfer is a new term for an old development. Universities develop what industry wants."

An example of applied research that is currently under way is being shown by Stuttgart University at the Hanover Fair. It concerns an "earth analysis box". Anyone who owns a stretch of land can measure with this equipment the oxygen content of the land, related oxygen properties and the aluminium ion content.

This simple test method requires only three re-agent solutions, a funnel and filter paper, and a test tube.

Much attention was given to another idea that was shown by Stuttgart University at Hanover. It is an apparatus that can inexpensively measure the degree of fouling of mineral water.

But not only science is represented at the Hanover Fair. An insurance company is also there, the Allianz AG. Guided by the motto "Prevention is better than cure" the insurance company has set up a technical centre with an allocation of DM12 million a year for research.

The centre is made up of four institutes, automobile technology, materials technology, fire protection technology

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

and testing techniques. They concentrate on problems that are frequent causes of insurance claims.

The sources are tracked down and attempts are made to master them.

Allianz is not at the fair to market the results of the research at the centre in Munich-Ismaning. This is taken care of by patents.

Daimler-Benz is occupied in quite a different area. They are concerned with measuring the exhaust gas emissions and traffic flow from a vehicle in various traffic situations.

The computer programme can go through every possible situation and all types of vehicles, as well as observing whether the driver is aggressive or passive in his use of the accelerator.

The aim of this research is to discover if the traffic flow could be improved by alterations to traffic light controls, and also to discover if exhaust gas emissions could be reduced either by technical innovation or some other method.

In Hall 7 where research is exhibited there is something to tickle the fancy. The Daimler-Benz stand is next-door to the Dornier stand. The exhibition planners had not taken this into consideration. Daimler-Benz has just picked up 68% of Dornier equity for DM390 million.

Franz-Josef Nicola
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 April 1985)



Hanover sights: Robot shows humans how.

THE HANOVER FAIR

Information technology beats cranes and trains to the punch

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

said with obvious pleasure: "The generation of our children have intuitively taken to the computer phenomenon and in their millions they delight in the electronic midgets."

Although the first sales boom has already ebbed away the marketing experts look to the future confidently, for the teenagers discuss with the marketing professionals in computer jargon matters such as Unix and MS/DOS, intel and motorola processors, floppies and Winchester capacities.

Chips and micro-electronics are the theme at this year's Hanover Fair. Next to the smallest computers the future of the telephone is the main centre of interest in conversations with the experts.

Der gan?

der gan?

der gan?

der gan?

der gan?

der gan?

The magic words at the fair were Integrated Services Digital network, or ISDN. These initials conceal the conjunction of news, computer and information technology into a single net: telephone, telecopier, telex and personal computer can all be linked together. On the same connection two people can talk to each other and transmit at the same time written data, drawings or tables — life in the office will all of a sudden be very much changed.

The experts regard these developments as a matter of course. One of the technicians, apparently full of surprise, asked: "What would you say if your coffee machine needed a different plug to your toaster, if the mixer had a different connection to the egg-boiler?"

There is no standardised "communications socket", the radio antennae do not work for television sets, telexes

have a different connection to home computers — all this will change.

Electronic companies all agree on this, and from Nixdorf to SEL to Siemens this is the business of the future.

The crush in the CeBIT exhibition is greater than ever before. Every inch of space is used. Hundreds of exhibitors were turned away had applications rejected because of a lack of space.

This will be changed. Next year, the fair is to be split. The electronics centre will be taken away from the other nine component fairs that make up the fair as a whole and will be organised separately a week earlier.

Most exhibitors are not too happy with this, particularly the medium-sized firms.

But no one can see an alternative, and the critics of this scheme concede that.

A local politician said: "The city and the fair have got to the limit of their capacities."

The facts are that the exhibition ground, which this year was again increased by 14 per cent to 800,000 square metres, cannot be extended any further and Hanover itself cannot handle more visitors.

For a long time Hanover has not only had the largest industrial show in the world but also the greatest crowd.

The accommodation for 750,000 — and, of course, that is a record — has reached the limits.

It is unofficially estimated that on the first day 100,000 visitors crowded through the exhibition halls, and 34,000 cars made sure that the chaos was more chaotic than usual.

Among the visitors on the first day there were a few political VIPs, which is traditional. Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann, his colleague in Lower Saxony Birgit Breuel, the East German economics expert Günter Mittag and the Turkish premier Turgut Ozal, all did their duty and went the rounds.

Quite obviously the most pleased with it all was Martin Bangemann, who was in a very good mood at the opening.

Bangemann spent four hours inspecting exhibits, and he stood confidently by the locomotive on the Thyssen stand as "engine driver of the economic upswing".

Uwe Vorkötter
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 April 1985)

Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber not at the bazaar but at Hanover. The women are microchip production workers, veiled for hygiene. (Photo: dpa)

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(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 13 April 1965)

What ever has happened? Is the entire Western alliance on the brink of break-up? Does German-American cooperation no longer count for anything?

Commentaries on President Reagan's visit to Germany almost make it seem as if, under pressure of public criticism of the President's visit to the German war cemetery in Bitburg, the German-American alliance was in danger of collapse.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Bitburg dispute will remain a mere intermezzo.

Yet both in America and in Germany it has brought to light currents that in the long term could well wash away the very foundations of cooperation.

What has happened? The President's visit was planned as a gesture of reconciliation — as if, after such fine cooperation for so long, any such gesture were still needed!

But it was transformed by a succession of clumsy moves into its very opposite — regardless what course the visit took.

The spirit of ill-will, not partnership, was conjured, with US newspapers, Congress, Jewish organisations and the influential veterans' lobby calling on the President to cancel the Bitburg ceremony.

President Reagan may not have yielded to this pressure but many people in Germany feel most uneasy and Chancellor Kohl has visions of a storm that could devastate the landscape.

The leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, Alfred Dregger, warned of an "unholy alliance between left- and extreme right-wing anti-American sentiment in Germany and anti-German

REAGAN IN EUROPE

What the Bitburg episode means for an alliance

sentiment in America." He even talked in terms of difficulty in ensuring that the alliance survived the anniversary of VE Day in a reasonable state of repair.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, not usually a newspaper given to excitement, almost lost control over itself.

"In their unthinking self-assurance many Americans," its leader-writer wrote, "are deluding themselves on the extent to which anti-Americanism is gaining ground worldwide."

"They feel they can work themselves up into a Pearl Harbour mood in the Pacific on account of economic rivalry while at the same time treating one of their most loyal allies like a vassal."

The intensity of the American debate on Bitburg and Germany's past has clearly caused annoyance in this country.

The US Senate may not have been alone in criticising Bitburg. So have Mrs Thatcher and leading political parties in the Netherlands. But German opinion is still riled first and foremost by the American reaction.

The question is, as so often when Germans are upset, how deep-seated is the sense of outrage and what consequences will it have?

Will everything be back in clover when Air Force One takes off again on 7 April and President Reagan leaves Germany?

DIE ZEIT

Will it just have been a storm in a teacup? Or have German-American relations taken a knock for good?

The answer is that they will take a fair amount of "punishment." Statesmen and journalists may be fond of describing world affairs in terms of human relations, but in reality "friendship" is not a category into which relations between countries fit.

An alliance is a community of interests based on the conviction that one's own well-being and security are best served by joining forces with others.

This is a fact that remains unchanged by the Bitburg controversy. Besides, Bitburg is by no means the first crisis in German-American relations.

The relationship has survived much more serious crises: over nuclear armament and Vietnam, detente and oil pipelines, money and missiles.

Any alliance worth its salt ought to be able to take a disagreement like the one over Bitburg in its stride. Yet Bitburg must nonetheless be taken more seriously.

It isn't that the upset has shaken the foundations of German-American relations — over and above the annoyance and shame we all feel about how the affair has developed.

What matters is that the mistrust and sensitivity shown on both sides of the Atlantic could well lead to a long-term deterioration in German-American trust. They testify to and intensify lines of development that have long been in the offing.

On the American side there is a growing inclination to mistake ideology for politics, as evidenced by both President Carter's human rights offensive and President Reagan's crusade ideology.

"Americans," historian Gordon A. Craig recently wrote, "have always felt obliged to regard their policies not only as effective and to the point but as good in the moral sense, and to believe that their foreign policy behaviour is based on idealistic rather than mere *Realpolitik* motives."

This tradition was suppressed in America's heyday as a world power. It is now recurring.

America is increasingly showing signs of lacking the generosity with which it used impetuously to pursue its own interests jointly with those of its smaller partners and to take their sensitivities into account.

The Bitburg debate has supplied fresh instances of both moral self-righteousness and an uninhibited striving to look after US interests.

It is a little ironic that Ronald Reagan of all people, a President who has furthered the present trend, has been hoist by his own petard.

Much like his predecessors in the 1950s and 1960s, he has refused to yield to pressure and taken a political knock as a result.

On the German side there is a growing inclination to allow doubts as to our own identity to affect German policy toward the United States.

What lies behind left-wing criticism

of President Reagan's ideology of dividing the world into good and bad is, at least in part, a hope that divided Germany might at long last be able to find place for itself in a united Europe free from superpower rivalries.

Right-wingers may never have let President Reagan's ideology be suspect, but the same cannot be said of what was imagined to be a refusal on part to reward the Federal Republic of Germany for its loyalty.

The vehemence of the missile deployment debate has left behind traces.

Left-wing polemics against Germany being a vassal have their counterpart in right-wing rancour about American technological and economic self-interest.

There was full agreement on both sides of the political spectrum when it came to the latest upset in Bonn over the Nato friend-foe recognition system which is now to be made in America rather than in Germany.

This may be one reason for German upset over Bitburg. To be annoyed about being constantly reminded by other countries of Germany's past is to deny the desire for a normal, untroubled German identity.

It is no coincidence that German journalists in Bonn reveal that the Bitburg dispute are the ones who are keen at all costs to keep the German Question open.

Bitburg and the problems it has created for President Reagan's visit to Germany need not have long-term consequences.

That is more than can be said for Reagan in Bonn said: "If the present increase continues in three to four years the United States will be doing more trade with Japan alone than with all her European partners put together."

Although the reasons for this colossal shift are political, they lie much more with American domestic economic developments.

Four years ago, when Reagan became President, leading east coast politicians and officials, traditionally oriented towards Europe, were replaced by men and women from the West.

The turning towards Asia could be observed when Richard Nixon, a Californian by choice, was elected President.

There were economic reasons as well as political why Nixon sought to

Real successes are hard to find among the ten previous economic summits.

Although the 11th meeting of leaders of the seven most important industrial countries in the West followed the pattern, the original idea is still valid.

Former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, supported by Helmut Schmidt at the first summit at Rambouillet, near Paris, in 1975, said that in his experience, frank discussions helped statesmen to sharpen their judgments on the interests and motives of other government heads.

Only then are compromises possible, which means that crises can be averted.

The summit idea occurred when the western industrialised world was shaken by the oil crisis and a devastating currency problem.

The solution of these problems, nationally and internationally, could no longer be left to ministers. Giscard's idea of an international economic summit also had a political quality about it.

In the middle of the 1970s the major western industrialised nations were forcefully made aware of the enormous danger to the stability of individual states and the Western Alliance concealed in recession.

Western security was no longer exclusively the problem of an external threat, or even a priority. Nothing more could be sacrificed for agreement in worldwide economic problems.

The economy has taken on an even greater importance in the past ten years: unemployment and high interest rates, state indebtedness and the Third World. Unfortunately pure economic problems

come to terms with China and why he was the architect of many fundamental trade agreements with Asian states. These agreements are now bearing fruit.

But decisive for this realignment according to many observers, are structural changes in the US economy itself.

The European Community representative in Washington, Britain's Sir Roy Denman, put it this way: "Economic power and money have moved to the South and the West of the United States."

Industries of the future such as electronics have moved to Florida and California, while problem industries such as steel have remained in the classic US economic centre in the North-East.

At the same time there is in the USA the phenomenon of a migration of people in the same direction who are above-average consumers with plenty of money.

And those in company management gear themselves as they did with consumers to the nearest markets abroad — Central and South America and Asia.

No responsible American politician would aim at writing Europe off economically in the long-term. They know only too well that America's security aims can only be achieved if the Euro-

pean economy is healthy, and that the Europeans can also finance their defence efforts themselves.

According to American opinion West Europeans can only remain in "the big league" by their own enormous efforts. This is described by economic experts in Washington as less state intervention.

The Europeans should reduce their "inhibiting subsidy jungle" for sick companies and industries, limit cost pressures caused by excessive social welfare burdens by cuts in social benefits, and boost demand for investment and consumer goods by tax cuts.

These recommendations describe perfectly the basic economic convictions of the Reagan administration.

It is quite another matter whether the heads of state and government gathered in Bonn for the economic summit will find this recipe quite so convincing.

European Community statisticians produced conflicting figures.

A comment in a "quantitative extrapolation" of European, American and Japanese economic data said: "Since the beginning of the year the American economy seems to be slowing down, in the Asian countries economic growth is leaping ahead out of control, but here in Europe things are getting steadily better."

If that continues the Europeans will not have to learn from the Americans and Asians; they instead would have to learn from the Europeans.

Then in the long-term American-European trade will again get going.

Peter W. Schroeder
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 May 1985)

THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT

Fear becomes fact: Asia now biggest US trade zone

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Asia has replaced Europe as America's largest trading area. Behind this fact, which was revealed in trade figures handed out before the economic summit began in Bonn, is the truth that none of the seven world leaders could mention.

It is that the United States is swinging economically away from Europe and towards Asia.

This trend has enormous political consequences, but until now it has been dismissed both in European capitals and in Washington as pure fantasy.

However, the figures handed out to journalists in Bonn reveal that the volume of trade between West Europe and America last year was \$100 billion, a record.

But trade between America and Asian nations exceeded \$130 billion.

An economics expert with President Reagan in Bonn said: "If the present increase continues in three to four years the United States will be doing more trade with Japan alone than with all her European partners put together."

Although the reasons for this colossal shift are political, they lie much more with American domestic economic developments.

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Achievements have been limited but the idea is a good one

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Peter W. Schroeder
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 May 1985)

Disagreement on new round of trade talks

Leaders of the world's largest economic nations failed at the economic summit in Bonn to agree on another round of Gatt (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) talks next year. The leaders were hoping another Gatt round would help to liberalise world trade. But the French were the stumbling block. However, hopes have not entirely been dashed that somehow a way will be found to hold the talks.

The aim of the seven summiters was to get to grips early next year with the problem of the increasing world-wide trade restrictions.

A day before the summit began in Bonn, Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone said in discussions with Chancellor Kohl that he was prepared to go ahead with a new Gatt round of talks in 1986.

The leaders, from America, Canada, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany, had an extensive agenda. They considered:

- Joint measures to control protectionism and to open up world markets. The West German delegation wanted a firm date for the next Gatt round.

- Measures for worldwide, inflation-free, economic growth.

- East-West trade and in particular the American wish to make it more difficult to supply modern, sophisticated technology to the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

- The huge American budget debt, and the related interest and currency problems.

- High unemployment in the European Community. The US wanted to bring pressure to bear on its European partners to do more against unemployment and to stimulate economic growth.

- Environmental protection with reference to an expert report commissioned at the London conference last year.

- The relationship of the industrialised nations to the countries of the Third World. French President Mitterrand will report on his initiative for an Africa aid programme.

Before the summit, Chancellor Kohl and Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (both CDU) and Economic Affairs

Minister Martin Bangemann (FDP) said emphatically that, contrary to the first Bonn summit in 1978, the West German government was not prepared to become "the locomotive for western world economic recovery through extensive public spending."

Chancellor Kohl and Premier Nakasone confirmed at the end of their talks during the Japanese premier's state visit the necessity of "toning down" the increasing tendency to protectionism and to take steps to reinforce the west's free trade system.

Bangemann discussed international trade questions and a new Gatt round of talks with his Japanese opposite number, Foreign Minister Murata.

Gerhard Weigelt
(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 May 1985)

Continued from page 1

Reagan a firm commitment to an early deadline for further talks on free trade.

M. Mitterrand clearly wanted to make use of this opportunity of forcing the Americans to make concessions on monetary policy.

France has long felt that world trade is jeopardised by US monetary policy with its high interest rates and dollar exchange rate. As Mr Reagan urgently needed the Gatt round for domestic reasons the French felt they could insist on definite counter-concessions in return.

There can be no doubt whatever that M. Mitterrand was disappointed with Herr Kohl in this connection. Strong words were used in his delegation.

But the reasons stated for his refusal throughout the two-day summit to agree to a Gatt round deadline would seem to suggest more far-reaching intentions.

He first mentioned the interests of French farmers that needed to be protected. In the end it was European interests that were said to be at stake.

Further liberalisation of world trade ought, the Americans feel, to include agricultural output, which puts Europe in a difficult position.

M. Mitterrand also claimed to be looking after the interests of the developing countries, who do not expect a new Gatt round to do them any good.

The Third World must not be ridden over roughshod, the French President said, clearly enjoying his lone stand.

What makes M. Mitterrand's attitude, which initially seemed uncertain, so difficult for Herr Kohl was the French leader's use of the summit as a platform on which to clearly reject the American SDI research project.

His argument was, again, that European interests must be borne in mind. He presented research plans of his own as an alternative to the US proposals. With M.

Mitterrand playing the European card in Bonn the four European countries represented at the summit suddenly found themselves in the awkward position of voicing different views again.

Britain's Mrs Thatcher was all in favour of Mr Reagan's policy, which she demonstratively supported both on SDI research and on the need for an early start to Gatt talks.

Italy's Signor Craxi, who otherwise tended to keep a low profile, backed M. Mitterrand.

Herr Kohl must have been through some unpleasant moments. Suddenly it seemed as though the spectre of the 1950s was back, with Bonn being asked to choose politically between Washington and Paris.

The Chancellor fought hard for compromise, but his proverbial staying power failed this time to do the trick.

Contrasting viewpoints could only be papered over by fine-sounding communique turns of phrase.

It is doubtful whether President Reagan can

■ PACTS

The Soviet Union comes to sense the discomfort of its European allies

The Warsaw Pact is worrying the Soviet politbureau. The least of its problems is that the meeting of East Bloc Party leaders at which the pact's renewal was to have been formally agreed was cancelled because of Mr Chernomir's ill-health.

That is a formality Mr Gorbachev will have no difficulty in making good. But in preliminary talks the Soviet Union has come to realise how uncomfortable its European allies feel in the pact.

Several of them, especially Rumania and Hungary, would have preferred the Warsaw Pact to be renewed for as short a term as possible.

The smaller member-states are complaining increasingly stridently about the financial burden, while all agree that the extent of Soviet predominance in the pact is unsatisfactory.

Some would like to see the Warsaw Treaty revised to rule out any possibility of Moscow using the Warsaw Pact for purposes of armed intervention in their domestic affairs.

The Soviet Union may at present be in a position to withstand such pressure for the most part. But what will the position be in a decade's time?

Oddly enough, the Soviet Union is not entirely satisfied with the Warsaw Pact itself either. It too would like to see the pact revised.

Much of the treaty text is not to its liking. The pact only applies to Europe, for instance. In the event of a war in Asia Russia's allies would not be obliged to come to the Soviet Union's assistance.

And when it comes to a conflict in Europe, Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies can decide for themselves how best to help the Kremlin.

Warsaw Pact decisions must be unanimous. Rumania has made use of this provision dozens of times.

Member-countries must keep each other informed and hold consultations, but they are under no obligation to pursue a uniform foreign policy.

No member-country is under obligation to place all its armed forces under the Warsaw Pact's supreme command. The Warsaw Treaty in no way endorses the Brezhnev Doctrine of the socialist countries' limited sovereignty.

So the Soviet leaders would far sooner see many changes in both the wording of the treaty and the reality of the pact.

But it well realises that some at least of its allies would see negotiations on a treaty revision as an opportunity for raising entirely different issues on which they too would like to see amendments agreed.

That being so, the Russians prefer to accept the Warsaw Treaty as it is, warts and all.

They would never have imagined the pact was going to cause them such trouble. In 1955 they established it to lend political and legal support to the Soviet military presence in eastern central Europe.

For Mr Khrushchev that was virtually all the Warsaw Pact was intended to achieve. He envisaged integration of the "socialist camp" by being achieved more by means of Comecon.

Under his successor, Mr Brezhnev, the pact increasingly came to be a means of monitoring foreign policy, a sector in which Russia's allies were

Frankfurter Allgemeine

showing signs of wanting to go their own way.

At the same time Mr Brezhnev sought to control domestic policy in the "socialist camp" via the Warsaw Pact, thereby ensuring Soviet-style Leninist rule throughout the bloc.

This proved urgently necessary in the wake of developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

That was when the Brezhnev Doctrine was drawn up in Moscow, ostensibly as an interpretation of the terms of the Warsaw Treaty, which was said partly to serve the purpose of protecting socialism in member-countries.

It would be a mistake to believe that member-countries might want to break their bonds and quit the Soviet bloc.

There is a world of difference between Eastern European leaders and the peoples they rule, and some people in the West tend to confuse the two.

Representatives of 75 Third World countries and four liberation movements met in Bandung, Indonesia, at the end of April to mark the 30th anniversary of non-alignment.

Thirty years ago, in April 1955, leaders of 23 Asian and six African countries met in Bandung for "the first international conference of the so-called coloured nations in the history of mankind."

From the outset it was clear that they were staking their claim to a say in how the post-war world was run.

Bandung was a declaration of war on "Western colonialism and imperialism."

The conference endorsed 10 principles of coexistence in a document that for the most part reaffirmed the principles of the UN Charter.

More radical demands proved impossible to place all on, which is hardly surprising given the countries represented, which varied widely in political and economic orientation.

They ranged from fairly advanced Japan, which was on the point of forging even closer links with the United States, via the Philippines, Thailand and Turkey to mainland China, which in those days was made out by the Western media to be an aggressive Communist monster.

Only one article was not in keeping with the UN Charter. Item 6 (a) of the final resolution referred to "renunciation of collective defence agreements that serve the special interests of any of the great powers."

This phrase bears witness to the penmanship of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, whose brainchild Bandung largely was.

He was not just concerned with decolonisation (France for one had yet to grant its African colonies independence) but with a principle of political orientation.

He made this point clear in a speech warning the newly-independent states of Africa and Asia against swimming in the great powers' wake.

"We want," he said, "to be friends

Moscow is the guarantor of power for all Party leaders in eastern central and eastern Europe. To break with Moscow would mean the end of the road for them all.

Yet although Eastern European leaders are not keen to quit the pact they would all like greater leeway within it.

That goes for ties with the West, especially economic ties, and for domestic affairs.

Some Western observers say the smaller Warsaw Pact countries would sooner see the Warsaw Pact less military and more political in character.

That is doubtful. Fresh political limitations arising from a politically reactivated Warsaw Pact could prove more oppressive than military commitments.

The pact mentality may not, then, have been exhausted, but member-countries are growing steadily more tired of the Warsaw Pact.

This is a problem with which the Soviet Union is going to have increasing difficulty regardless whether or not it relaxes its hold on Eastern Europe.

But it need have no fear of the pact not surviving as a political and legal in-

strument. If it ever breaks up from within, the Soviet Union will be able to fall back on a longstanding network of bilateral pacts.

These treaties, systematically perfected by Moscow over the decades, offset many shortcomings of the Warsaw Pact.

They do not limit the mutual assistance commitment to Europe. They do not leave it to the partner to decide how to come to the Soviet Union's assistance.

They commit signatories to foreign policy coordination (only Rumania has been able to avoid this particular treaty thumbscrew).

Some of the bilateral treaties even lend support to the Brezhnev Doctrine.

But even they are susceptible to political erosion and to the growing dissatisfaction with Soviet hegemony.

In the final analysis the system of bilateral treaties is not worth much more than the pact.

The satellites will for the foreseeable future remain allied, both collectively and bilaterally, with the Soviet Union. But their urge to plough furrows of their own will increase, regardless what the treaties may say and for how long they remain in force.

Johann Georg Reissmüller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 April 1985)

The legacy of Bandung 30 years later

with America and Europe and to cooperate with them.

"But Europe and America are accustomed to thinking that their conflicts are world conflicts and that the world must thus follow them in one direction or another."

"But why ever should we allow ourselves to be involved in their conflicts and wars?"

This warning was understandable. Both Nehru and other Afro-Asian leaders noted with alarm how they were becoming involved in the US-Soviet struggle for hegemony, a clash seen in Europe as the East-West conflict.

The 1950-53 Korean War and the partition of Vietnam in 1954 had shown that rivalry between the Western powers and the Soviet Union was taking its toll all over the world.

Nehru had also noted with suspicion how the United States, assisted by Britain and France, was setting up a worldwide system of pacts surrounding the Communist bloc.

In Europe Nato was due to be enlarged to include the Federal Republic of Germany as a new member.

In South-East Asia Sento was set up in 1954. In the Middle East the Baghdad Pact was set up in February 1955.

In the Baghdad Pact, later known as Cento, Britain originally planned a linchpin role for Egypt, but Colonel Nasser's coup ousting King Farouk put paid to this idea.

The Soviet Union was busy expanding its alliances too. Its European satellites were about to set up the Warsaw Pact in answer to the Federal Republic of Germany having joined Nato.

The Kremlin also had long-term

friendship and cooperation treaties with China and North Korea.

There could be no denying the risk of newly-independent countries forfeiting their independence by taking sides in the East-West conflict.

Some of the governments represented in Bandung no longer had foreign policy leeway because they had been persuaded to join pacts that served the special interests of one of the great powers.

Nehru's initiative was too late to prevent the establishment of Sento and Cento, but the Bandung conference was by no means held in vain.

Its aim of having political activity on geographical and racial criteria (the Afro-Asian peoples) may have proved failure, but his warning not to become involved in the US-Soviet conflict did not go unheeded.

It became the intellectual basis of the non-aligned movement, which was formally set up six years later in Belgrade and exists to this day.

Bandung, it can be seen in retrospect, was an important link in the chain leading to non-alignment. It was a clue of threat for emerging nations, although unexpressed hopes it might be the starting-point of a new political morality were to be disappointed.

Participants proved unable to abide by the lofty principles they solemnly proclaimed, and even Nehru's and Tito's concept of non-alignment is now in jeopardy.

The non-aligned movement was unable to keep the bacillus of East-West conflict at bay, as the efforts of the Cuban-led faction to forge closer links with Moscow have shown.

The second Bandung conference was unable to change this state of affairs. Sento and Cento may long have ceased to exist and China's friendship pact with the Soviet Union may not have been renewed, but even in the Third World the East-West clash remains for the time being the predominant conflict pattern.

Wolfgang Schilling
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 22 April 1985)

PERSPECTIVE

Forty years later, 'remembering alone is just not enough'

Remembering the end of the war 40 years ago is not enough, says Eugen Kogon. The threat to world peace today could also be remembered. Kogon, 82, is a survivor of Buchenwald concentration camp. He is the author of a book, *The SS State*, published in 1946. He wrote an article for *Die Zeit*.

The Wehrmacht's unconditional surrender eight days after Hitler's suicide is neither a disputed nor a disputable historical event.

The signing of the capitulation documents on 7 May 1945 in Reims and two days later in Karlshorst, Berlin, sealed the fate of the Third Reich's armed forces without negotiations.

It also brought the war to an end. But what mattered for the remaining combat units and for civilians in the Allies had yet to occupy.

The civilian population no longer had to seek refuge in air raid shelters every day. Why suddenly recall the event 40 years later? Why not 10, 20 or 25 years ago?

These two days in May 1945 were not common historic experience shared by German people.

It was not as though white and black, and gold flags had been flown on all

buildings that were still standing all over the country to signify the end of the Nazis and a fresh start.

Millions of Germans only learnt indirectly that the Third Reich had capitulated. They had no idea that unconditional surrender was in keeping with a decision reached by the Allies in Casablanca in 1943.

There was to be no possibility of a repetition of claims made after the First World War that the Germans had been unbeaten on the battlefield.

These facts can now be read in all history books, yet they are still not common knowledge in the sense that everyone knows them to have been a fact and accepts them as a matter of course.

The difficulty is that defeat and freedom form a single unit. Defeat was the prerequisite of freedom: not just the defeat of the Nazi regime but the defeat of Germany and the Germans.

Many came to feel in the course of time that written confirmation of total military collapse was not an occasion for national remembrance.

At best, they felt, it might be an opportunity for considering a policy of revision and for at least hinting at wishes to that effect at some future date when the power position might have changed.

It is impossible to say how strong such wishes are and how powerful their influence on society still is, but it is certainly enough to ensure that the anniversary

is not one on which a national consensus exists. The freedom that was to follow in the footsteps of capitulation was in itself contradictory. For Bonn the document signed in Reims paved the way for a fresh attempt at parliamentary democracy and constitutional government that in many ways has been a success. In East Berlin the Karlshorst document is assessed in terms of a different viewpoint, the Soviet one. Germans in East and West have been integrated ideologically, economically and militarily in hostile pacts. So the anniversary of VE Day can hardly be seen, from the German point of view, as one of unity and unquestionable renewal.

The institutionalisation of the two German states and rearmament on both sides of the border steadily heightened this contradiction. How, given the progressive undermining of its originally intended meaning, can a uniform understanding be reached?

It is a matter of the anniversary's historic credibility and its contemporary significance now and in future.

Both would be disregarded if official speeches, from Moscow via Paris and London to Washington, were merely to commemorate the Allied victory, which has by no means established humanely safeguarded international relations.

It would also be disregarded if the wartime Allies were merely to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the war's end as a preliminary to a fresh arms build-up, arguing that they alone ensure continued world peace.

The question is whether the contradiction between the document and the reality, perceptible a mere year after the capitulation was signed, clearly apparent from 1947 in the Cold War era and since taken to be inevitable, could still be resolved 40 years later if only the erstwhile belligerents so wanted.

The Germans would do well to grasp the initiative. They would be entitled to do so, if not duty-bound after everything that has been done with them and by them.

They would be well-advised to insist on the humane, civilising prerequisites of freedom and to set about putting them into effect in their own national sector.

The position Germany has reached in 40 years is strong and respected. We could afford to put forward and even try to put into effect development proposals of a "productively utopian character." If only we would!

The circumstances of world history associated with VE Day must surely warrant the courage of any such attempt — just as German-Polish relations justified Willy Brandt falling on his knees in front of the Warsaw ghetto monument in 1970.

The more deeply we involve our-



Woodcut by Josef L. Kracher

(Photo: Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

selves, as we have been doing for decades, in the consequences of the fateful decision to remilitarise, the less it suffices merely to remember the toll people paid to the Nazis.

Historic pointers to essential reforms need sounding out; it isn't enough to pledge that such excesses must never occur again. That alone fails to deeply impress many people in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The millions who died in wartime and terror are constantly recalled on other occasions. There is no shortage of democratic protestations. But do they change the world?

National Socialism, with roots not only in Germany, was a brutal attempt to reverse the European enlightenment that in four centuries had increasingly gained currency as a social principle.

Democratic civilisation was to be replaced worldwide by racist rule, spearheaded by a Greater German Reich.

For the Nazis war, once all other political means of gaining and maintaining power had been used, was the utmost test of whether their system worked.

The German capitulation, testifying to the defeat of the racist principle of government, was intended unconditionally to rule out the use of force for political ends in future.

What then happened was the exact opposite. The first and categorical imperative of civilisation yielded to large-scale rearmament including the Germans.

Given developments in, say, arms technology that have come to threaten the very survival of entire nations, not to say mankind, Germany's part in the pact systems within which we have assumed a front-line role can only be one of constant, strenuous effort to achieve disarmament.

Not a word needs to be lost on the economic, social and cultural reform effects of a consistent reorientation from military security planning to the open problems of a peace economy.

They would open up entire horizons of hope and confidence.

The anniversary of the end of the Second World War could then be celebrated as Civilisation Day and an occasion for taking stock of successes and failures, plans and initiatives, hostility and solidarity. Or is it just an illusion?

Eugen Kogon

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 19 April 1985)

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Daimler-Benz is the finest company in West Germany — at least that is what Daimler-Benz thinks.

But the Stuttgart-based car manufacturer is no longer what it used to be. The company's managers in the past would not have tolerated its current publicity-seeking attitude, its practice of counting its chickens before they're hatched.

Managers in days gone by were too sensitive about image to allow that sort of thing. They were regarded as ultra conservative, boring even.

How things have changed. Before any deal was done with Dornier, Daimler-Benz brashly trumpeted to the world that it was to acquire a majority holding in the aerospace firm.

Really? Tough luck that a few days later, doubts were raised about the deal.

Well, why did the makers of Mercedes vehicles act so quickly in announcing something that had not taken place?

The only plausible answer is this: they wanted to put pressure on co-owner Claudius Dornier and break down any lingering opposition.

Daimler-Benz wanted to put the responsibility for the future of 9,000 jobs right on the shoulders of Claudius.

The bidder's argument was that the jobs would only be safe if it took over as Dornier's majority shareholder.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth, who had acted as intermediary in the negotiations, also said before the television cameras that Claudius Dornier for better or for worse had to take this responsibility.

A message to the Dornier workforce from Daimler was not in the best of taste.

It said that if the takeover bid went through, Dornier workers could buy Mercedes cars at a discount.

The reaction was inevitable. The workers voted for Daimler.

The takeover means that the re-

BUSINESS

Daimler-Benz look all set to take over Dornier

Daimler-Benz has beaten the big engineering firm, Mannesmann, to the punch in buying into Dornier, the German aerospace company. Daimler-Benz is buying 68 per cent of Dornier and the Baden-Württemberg Land government another four per cent. Mannesmann wanted 25 per cent. The deal, in which Daimler-Benz is paying an estimated 390 million marks (but it won't admit to any figure) is still subject to a veto from one Dornier shareholder, Claudius Dornier. Daimler-Benz has just finished buying the 50 per cent interest it did not own in aero-engine maker Motoren- und Turbinen-Union (MTU) for 650 million marks. Dornier, a family firm until now, has been embroiled in a family row which has split the firm. In this article for *Die Zeit*, Heinz Blüthmann looks at the changing character of Daimler-Benz and outlines the run up to the deal. And Leonhard Spielhofer, writing in *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, looks at the bidder who failed, Mannesmann.

sources of the most profitable West German company will rescue Dornier's successful high technology research from financial problems.

Lack of cash has prevented the relatively small Dornier concern (its annual turnover is only DM1.5 billion) from achieving more rapid growth.

The surprising feature about it all is the style of the new aggressive Daimler with its greed.

Until quite recently Daimler concentrated on automobile production and seemed as firmly fixed in that as a Buddha. There were obviously reasons enough for Daimler's coolness.

The company has prospered. In the ten years between 1975 and 1984 the labour force has increased from 150,000 to 200,000. Despite some tricky write-offs profits have increased threefold — in 1983 they were DM710 million.

Nevertheless, over these years, almost unnoticed by the public, Daimler-Benz developed a dangerous list.

While year after year prestige Mercedes cars turned in juicy profits, turnover with commercial vehicles left a lot to be desired. Currently this division is "sprinkled with red". Medically speaking Daimler-Benz is lame in one leg.

The reasons for the miserable performance in the truck business is that the developing countries, heavily in debt, have no money, the East Bloc and China are holding back and there is a merciless price war raging in Europe, knocking profits.

Also capacities in France, Italy, Sweden and West Germany are too great.

The problem is a tough one for Daimler-Benz managers, because the company is number one in the highly contested truck market. Every fifth lorry over 15 tons has the Mercedes star.

It is no wonder then that the Stuttgart central office organised fundamental strategy discussions at the end of last year. The key question was: "Where

should we expand?" The answer was not in the troubled truck market, but in high technology. Edzard Reuter and Werner Niefer, both board members with a high reputation outside the company, took the matter in hand.

They had immediate good fortune. For truck competitor MAN, a Gutehoffnungshütte (GHH) subsidiary, had lost its financial steam. The murderous price war on the truck market had cost the MAN truck people more than half a billion marks in losses over a two-year period.

MAN losses opened up the way for Daimler-Benz. The company bought the MAN 50 per cent share in the lucrative diesel engine and turbine manufacturers MTU for almost DM700 million. Daimler already held the rest of the equity.

Although General Motors wanted to

swallow the whole of MAN, and was able to offer an enormous price thanks to the favourable dollar exchange rate, Daimler-Benz came out the winner, thanks to a national way of thinking.

The Stuttgart company got the second half of a pearl with a promising future and MAN money to re-develop, that banished the danger of a foreign take-over.

On the surface the two largest West German truck manufacturers remain competitors, but in fact the way has been prepared for an "arrangement" to improve the two competitors' profitability.

Daimler's dual strategy, relieving the profits pressure in the commercial vehicle division and at the same time expanding into an industry of the future, has come off completely.

Ernst Zimmermann, the MTU boss who was murdered in February, had proudly said: "No matter what the airlines propose ordering over the next few years MTU will have a ten to eleven per cent share of the engine business." Now Daimler-Benz will profit from that.

With the MTU take-over Dornier perfectly fits into the Mercedes concept, for Dornier researchers begin where the MTU experts stop.

That perhaps explains the lack of style in the Daimler scheme.

One thing is certain. A year before the hundredth anniversary of automobile production, started by Carl Benz and Gottlieb Daimler, the oldest car manufacturing factory in the world has left the road for the skies.

Heinz Blüthmann
(*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 3 May 1985)

Leonard Spielhofer
(*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 18 April 1985)

Karl Dordowski
(*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 19 April 1985)

Mannesmann, the firm that was left behind

Almost a year ago Mannesmann's intention of moving into either new areas or new technologies.

So it was with some surprise that journalists heard at a Hannover press conference that the company wanted to buy into Dornier.

Efforts would be made later to acquire a controlling interest if that was not possible immediately.

(Mannesmann has since been beaten to the deal by Daimler-Benz and a government of Baden-Württemberg.)

Mannesmann was established in Düsseldorf in 1890. The company employs 100,000 (three-quarters in West Germany) and has a turnover of DM10 billion.

In the middle of the 1960s efforts were made to move out of the shadow of blast furnaces, winding towers and ing-mills and put the emphasis on high technology products instead of mass production.

This was made possible by the acquisition of companies with high technology and good growth opportunities.

These take-overs nearly always followed the same pattern. At the beginning a minority holding, but with the intention of obtaining later "industrial management". Individual companies remained independent, however.

More than once Mannesmann demonstrated how well the company understood the art of negotiating tactics.

Major diversification for the company began in 1968 when Mannesmann a coal and steel giant, acquired a 50 per cent holding in the family firm of Roth in Lohr am Main. In 1976 Mannesmann took over the company in full.

Dornier could extend the *Rhein* programme. This company has a turnover of DM1.4 billion, employs 10,000 and is involved in electrical engineering, simulation technology as well as in aerodynamics on land and in the air, as in Airbus.

In 1973 the Duisburg Demag was taken over by Mannesmann. In past this former "pearl" gave much concern. Unpleasant losses were recorded in iron and steel technology and construction equipment.

In the 1980s Mannesmann concentrated on electro-technology, electronics and computers.

In 1981 the company bought Frankfurt-based Hartmann & Braun specialists in gauging and control technology. The company employs 6,500 and has an annual turnover of DM700 million. And a year later Mannesmann acquired the computer and appliances manufacturer Kienzle that employs 8,400 and has an annual turnover of DM1 billion.

Mannesmann bases the logic on its recent moves to acquire Dornier on the company's involvement in communications and satellite technology, in process controls and automation, material development and testing equipment.

A spokesman said: "Mannesmann's build on Dornier's innovative spirit and has available considerable application experience, a worldwide distribution organisation and international contacts with customers as well as extensive experience in the development of new projects."

Leonard Spielhofer
(*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 18 April 1985)

TECHNOLOGY

Engine trail-blazer Felix Wankel still alive and rotating

Felix Wankel, 82, inventor of the rotary piston engine that bears his name, has set up a museum in Staadachberg on the Swiss side of the Constance.

It is modelled on the technical research and development unit he still has in Lindau, Bavaria. But the museum is being fitted out and isn't yet open to the public.

A historic treasure trove behind the door, it could easily be taken for a private home.

Wankel's place goes to the 1964 NSU Wankel Spider sports car and the 1967 800 cc saloon, which has yet to be out-fitted either technically or in styling.

Despite setbacks and decisions by licence-holders to abandon the rotary engine, inventor Wankel is still very much alive and kicking.

In his sense of humour, his creative powers and his delight in designing new variations on the rotary piston principle seem inexhaustible.

He and his partner sold the rights to the inventions to Daimler-Benz, the British Rover, in 1971, since then, free from financial worries, he has been able to concentrate fully on new ideas.

The rotary engine, he stresses, does not need leaded petrol either to increase the octane rating or to lubricate

Wankel and engine. (Photo: IFP)

Over 1.3 million Wankel-engined Mazdas have been built, currently including 5,000 7,000 two-plus-two Mazda RX-7 sports coupes a month.

The 2.3-litre twin-chamber engine develops 115hp. There is also a 165hp turbo version exported to the United States.

Yet to all intents and purposes Mazda are the only firm that still use the rotary engine, which in its heyday was licensed by 23 firms.

The 1973-74 oil embargo forced most licence-holders to shelve projects. Only the Japanese still banked on the rotary engine.

General Motors mothballed detailed production plans and in 1977 finally abandoned rotary engine research and development.

GM and Curtiss-Wright were entitled by the terms of a 1970 agreement to manufacture and market Wankel engines.

Audi/NSU set great store by a newly-developed 170-hp model (the previous engine developed 115hp), but the parent company, Volkswagen, spiked the idea.

VW had never been keen on plans at NSU's head office in Neckarsulm; the new engine was never put into practice.

Less and less has been heard about the Wankel engine even though it is smaller and lighter in weight than the conventional combustion engine. It also vibrates less and has fewer moving parts, making it easier to maintain.

Basically, all erstwhile licence-holders were reluctant to invest in a totally new engine production line and set up a worldwide network of spare parts.

Mazda alone have disproved prejudice about the engine's lifespan, its gasket wear and tear and high fuel con-

Handelsblatt

WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

shop in the 1920s and was granted important compression patents in 1932.

The first approached motor manufacturers NSU in 1951 and discovered the forerunner of the rotary engine in 1954.

His first rotary engines had separate pistons and rotating units. The NSU Wankel engine combined the movements in a single eccentric shaft.

The first mass-produced rotary-engined car was the 500-cc, 50-hp NSU Spider. It was first manufactured in 1964 and had only one rotary piston.

Three years later it was followed by the legendary Ro 80, a four-door, five-seater, front-wheel drive saloon with twin 497.5-cc rotary pistons developing 115hp and reaching 180kph, or 113mph.

The first experimental rotary-engined Mercedes was the 1969 C-111 with three 600-cc rotary engine chambers and mechanically controlled fuel injection. It developed 280hp and reached 260kph, or 163mph.

With the 1970 four-chamber engine the Mercedes coupe was even capable of 350hp.

Tokyo-Kogyo, the third-largest Japanese car firm (Mazda), made their first Wankel-engined model in 1967 and still use the principle.

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Mazda alone have disproved prejudice about the engine's lifespan, its gasket wear and tear and high fuel con-

sumption. For years they have given a 100,000-km warranty on the RX-7. Wankel himself has designed a new engine in Lindau, the DKM 78, a 300-cc prototype developing about 400hp. It is currently used to test gaskets and ignition.

(*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 25 April 1985)



Drais' bicycle... fast as a galloping horse. (Photo: Historia)

Velocipedically speaking, sir, the thing is called a bicycle

Baron Karl Friedrich Drais von Sauerbrunn, German inventor of the pushbike, may have been a nobleman but he was a scurrilous person in every respect.

After a punch-up in an inn he was even certified insane. But that was late in a life that began 200 years ago.

He was born on 29 April 1785 in Mannheim, where his father was chief justice of the Baden supreme court.

His father was an influential man at the court of the electoral prince of Baden, Margrave Carl Friedrich, so the family's connections were excellent and the young Karl Friedrich was well-educated.

But he didn't want to follow in his father's footsteps as a judge so he went in for forestry. At 25 he was a grand-ducal master-forester and seemed set for a brilliant career.

Yet he increasingly developed a delight in technology and mathematics and neglected his forest duties to concentrate on his inventions.

He invented a typewriter to type musical notation, a telegraph machine, a fuel-miser stove, a system of mirrors for looking round corners and, eventually, his velocipede, which was finally patented after some difficulty with the reluctant authorities in 1818.

He paved the way for a mode of transport that must surely take some beating for its A1 environmental rating — and is currently undergoing a renaissance.

Drais called his all-wood two-wheeler a velocipede, literally meaning "fast on foot".

Under this name he launched public campaigns for his new vehicle. At times he enjoyed official backing. His invention certainly impressed contemporary journalists.

His prototype had predecessors. Previous generations had probed the possibility of a horseless carriage.

During the French Revolution a Baron de Sivrac had scooted round the grounds of the royal castle on a similar device, but it was a hobby-horse without steering.

Other inventors built three-wheelers that made very slow going on the sandy, potholed roads of the period.

Drais' crucial improvement was the addition of steering and the positioning of his two wheels, one in front and one behind.

His velocipede was thus capable of

reaching a fair speed even on poor roads.

Uphill, he said, his vehicle travelled as fast as a man walking at a brisk pace. On level ground it was as fast as a horse in full gallop. Downhill it was faster still.

Besides, users could never lose control over the velocipede because it could be braked and brought to a halt immediately.

In the years that followed he demonstrated his two-wheelers to the crowned heads of Europe — at the Congress of Vienna, for instance — and held competitions to show how fast and effective they were.

But most of his contemporaries dismissed the chainless forerunner of the pushbike as a plaything.

He sold a few velocipedes he had made by a Mannheim wheelwright. Buyers were given a silver token bearing the baronial coat of arms as proof of payment.

But he failed to set up in business at all profitably. He saw the velocipede as a technical work of art and arguably approached the wrong kind of people.

Besides, he was constantly at loggerheads with the medical profession, which feared velocipede-users would do their legs lasting damage by straining muscles and tendons.

Drais had long quit the civil service and grew steadily poorer as he was unable to exploit his invention commercially. Other designs were manufactured in Germany and his own was pirated in Britain, France, Italy and the United States.

His first models sold for between 15 and 22 gold ducats, depending on how well-equipped they were. But his profits were negligible and steadily declined.

The mob made fun of him as he went round the streets of Karlsruhe dressed in a shabby forester's uniform and in the company of third-rate music hall artists.

When he died in 1851 pedals and chains had yet to be invented, but they soon were. Inventors everywhere were looking into the possibilities of the velocipede.

A mere five years later the bicycle was an established feature of everyday life. There were pushbikes everywhere, and they moved at such speed that some towns set up bicycle-free precincts.

In 1891 the German Cycling Association, founded in 1884, erected an impressive memorial to Baron Drais in Karlsruhe cemetery.

Franz Fegeler
(*Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, Hamburg, 28 April 1985)

Business through small ads

Continued from page 7

in metropolitan areas, but last year's runner-up to Cologne was provincial Bielefeld in Westphalia.

Business was, for that matter, brisker in Aachen than in Hamburg, Berlin or Düsseldorf, so the statistics fail to reveal any kind of regular pattern.

The service is for one relatively new in many areas. Besides, the figures are no guide to the success rate.

"We handle a fair number of offers and enquiries," says Herr Guder, "but I

shouldn't think we account for more than 10 per cent of successful link-ups."

By and large the chambers are extremely satisfied with their brokerage service although, as Herr Guder says, there can be no ruling out "duds" among the advertisers.

Initially the chamber has no idea who an advertiser is (other than a name and address). Both sides must check for themselves how suitable and serious the other is.

Karl Dordowski
(*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 19 April 1985)

■ THE ARTS

Breaking up the world and gluing it mischievously together again

Cartoonist Roland Topor is a storyteller. In the world he creates, people are easily injured. To comb one's hair is to scratch one's skull open and expose one's brain.

A pedigree dog lies trampled to death between a pair of ladies' boots. A foot is likely to be kicking something — even people — to death.

The wind can be dangerous, blowing heads from bodies like dead leaves from trees, while limbs are stretched or severed.

An exhibition of 500 of Topor's works, mostly drawings, is being shown at the Munich Stadtmuseum.

Topor (his name means "axe" in Polish) studied both at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris and under the Procrustes of Ancient Greek mythology.

He learnt early how vulnerable people are. His parents were Polish Jews who emigrated to Paris in 1929. He was born there in 1938.

In Poland his relatives were murdered, and during the German occupa-

Frankfurter Allgemeine

It may be a lizard cruising through the air with an aircraft head or a duck with a bill that extends into a gun-barrel.

But Topor takes his dream merely as a pretext for dissecting creatures into their constituent parts and putting them back together wrongly.

His pictures do not take shape in a trance, they result from the mischievousness of a playful gremlin.

He is fond of a vegetable-animal-human streak that could have been invented by Arcimboldo and drawn by a 19th century illustrator of trite novels.

In Topor's world, peopled by mutations, there is hardly a part of the body he hasn't used in place of the head. To lose your head is to run the risk of thinking with your behind.

In a world full of abysses his figures are either on the brink and threatening to plunge to their deaths or arduously clambering up to a point where a creature with a foot instead of a head lies in waiting.

It is a creature whose sole thought is to give anything that comes within kicking distance the boot, and it is ideally equipped to do so.

Topor's world is a world full of devils, but the Devil when he appears in person has a tail that ends in an electric power plug.

The onlooker may never know what will happen if the tail is plugged into a socket, but he will surely think it over and find the idea not entirely lacking in comedy.

The devil, as the German proverb has it, is to be found in the details, especially in those of Topor's female figures.

Five hundred works of his are currently on show at the Munich Stadtmuseum in an exhibition entitled Topor, Death and Devil.

They include a very few paintings, a great many drawings, posters, illustrations (including limerick illustrations), a few lino-cuts, wood-cuts and spray paintings, plus books and cartoons.

From Munich the exhibition will go on tour, first to the Wilhelm Busch Museum in Hanover, then to the Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt and finally, early next year, to the Rupertinum in Salzburg.

Darmstadt awarded its 1984 municipal art prize to Topor. The catalogue, which costs DM36 and is edited by Gina Kehayoff and Christoph Stölzl, contains 400 illustrations, including many not on show at the exhibition.

Diogenes, the Zürich publishers, are producing a book trade edition

that will cost DM49.

It is an outside volume featuring confessions and manifestos by Topor and articles by writers such as Fernando Arrabal and Jacques Prévert.

Federico Fellini and Wolfgang Siebeck, all art critics as offbeat as Topor himself. The catalogue also features Topor as a screen actor: with Klaus Kinski in Werner Herzog's *Nosferatu* and sporting a top hat, champagne and a silk scarf in Volker Schlöndorff's *Un amour de Swann*.

Topor's novel *The Tennant* has been filmed by Roman Polanski. His stage sets such as for *Oh Calcutta!* are outrageous. His fantasies, such as for Fellini's *Casanova* film, are congenial.

Fellini lauds his "discipline, which is also applied to the dream, and the accuracy of his description of the indescribable."

"He throws his pebbles into the pond," muses British fellow-cartoonist Ronald Searle, "and the waves set a good many boats rocking."

Lawrence Ferlinghetti refers in a poem to the footsteps of Topor's dragon, in which so many imitation dragons later followed, both in the United States and elsewhere.

Topor has long gained international acclaim, but that hasn't made him any more serious.

When he feels so inclined he joins forces with his son Nicolas in a drawing. He has also been known to design the front page of a newspaper: it was empty apart from the headline "No News."

His cartoons of social criticism and political cartoons, a fitting challenge to Topor's special skill at depicting a complex situation in a highly effective optical manner, are hardly represented, if at



Dream of the Hunchback, 1970.

(Photo: C. G. ...)

all, in the Munich exhibition. They include a devastating cartoon entitled *Employment* and showing four people queuing at a desk where a civil servant has collected their severed arms.

As a rule, however, Topor is clear of social reality, preferring to live in an autonomous country of his own.

Every drawing tells another tale: anecdote, a joke, an optical pun. The literary content is more important than the debate on his qualities as an artist.

Topor feels the rough draft more creative energy and poetry, more art than the finished work that has been converted into the language of the public for market potential.

In his *Manifesto of the Autograph School* he ends by proclaiming an "autograph of the individual."

It is produced by the artist for the artist, by the producer for personal use, is *l'art pour l'artiste*.

"May the others join him if they can," he condescendingly says.

This all sounds more esoteric than in practice. Topor's work is not incomprehensible; indeed, it often consists of readily-understood allegories and packing billboard punch.

He loves to make the world larger and smaller, resulting in the absurd Gulliver effect of a giant among dwarves and a dwarf among giants.

A naked woman screams as she is devoured by the teeth of a giant cannibal as they sink into her.

A head is occupied: little people are crawling through its mouth, eyes are being carried and clambered down into its chest.

Or are they being sucked into it? The new media and their role as a forced Kubin may see the other side of dark reverse of appearances, as no cult mystery. Topor portrays it as a gruesome gag.

Love brings no respite either, certainly no salvation. Topor's emotions are visions of horror.

One man's phallus grows through a head. Another's is shaped like a head and is throttling him with its hand.

A closed door comes as a shock between a woman's thighs; this motif occurs as a triangular gremlin's body with teeth bared and snarling.

Couples kissing have mouths, lips tied in knots and teeth bared. Unconvincing and of lacking com-

Continued on page 11



The Liar, 1976.

THE CINEMA

Films take second place to festival brouhaha

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

More interest was shown this year in the politics surrounding the Oberhausen short film festival than in the festival itself.

Last year the festival's future was in doubt because of cash difficulties. But the North Rhine-Westphalian government stepped in with assistance.

This year, the future is again in doubt because of disagreements between the various factions involved in the festival.

The festival used to be run by Wolfgang Laf. He resigned some time ago and then there have been wrangles over who to go about finding a successor.

The film-makers fear that involvement of the state and Land government will curtail independence — which is something they value under Ruff.

For they fear that Oberhausen will become a trial for new production and methods and that it might fall into the hands of private media companies.

In any case, there has been an onslaught of manifestos, statements and statements which whipped up more interest than the 103 productions from 36 countries both East and West.

Oberhausen's city cultural authorities maintain that a policy of openness will be maintained, but so far there has been no sign of it.

Naturally, the Land government of North Rhine-Westphalia wants a say how the festival is to be run — it looks out half the festival.

It is the organisation of film-makers who wants to be asked its opinion. The festival is too important to be left to local government.

For 30 years, it has stood for the independence of film producers. This was the policy maintained by Ruff.

Recognition of it, he was this year awarded a prize.

The festival has become well known and West, for its recognition of the Third World, and for its recognition of the future.

The future will not be easy. Many politicians are authorities on cultural affairs for who see themselves as such in the future in terms of the new mechanism.

It would be wrong if such a festival like Oberhausen fell into the hands of private companies. Short film festivals would be caught between television, video and the new media and their role as a forced independent film-makers from all over the world would be lost.

Oberhausen is in another crisis. But the short-film festival has been in crisis since it began.

Questions were always being asked, questions of recognition.

But this has led to a liveliness which is rare in the film world as a whole. Certainly it is true this year.

What of the festival itself? Many of the films lacked a feeling for form. Much of their work gave the impression of being unimportant, accidental, of lacking conviction and of lacking com-

In many cases, the world was merely portrayed in pictures, but it is some time since anybody produced a fresh outlook.

This year Oberhausen had long periods of waiting in the hope that something new, either in theme or visually, would turn up. Often the waits were in vain.

Pictures often told too little. Filming was seldom impressive. In many instances only atmosphere was produced and no critical view of reality.

An example was the East Berlin production from Jürgen Böttcher *Rangiererei* (Shunter): urgent frames showed the hard night work at Dresden station, atmospheric filming without doubt, but there were no details of individual working conditions. There were many examples of this sort.

It was obvious that many directors can no longer tell a story — neither in pictures nor in the development of a theme. The treatment was either superficial or trivial. There was no example of a self-contained story.

It was also noticeable that the younger generation of film-makers are less political than their predecessors. Current themes were rarely taken up, and when they were they were seldom absorbing or particularly informative.

Directors also seemed uneasy with irony or satire. When they used these themes were rarely taken up, and when they were they were seldom absorbing or particularly informative.

The Polish film from Lukasz Vylezalek, *Hausierer* (Hawker) is also a final game, an absurd play with the remains of human accommodation in a wrecked landscape with wrecked people, a picture of irritation, of hopelessness, of forlornness.

Magdalena Lazarkiewicz, in her *Wander*, was more convincing. The Polish contributions were controversial and perhaps the most informative, showing how far it was possible to go in interpreting the situation in a country.

Films repeatedly presented anxiety. This was so in the Czech production by Jan Svankmajer, *In den Keller* (To the cellar). A child is confronted in a cellar with his anxiety and appearance — by means of trick filming.

Many contributions portrayed young people with anxiety.

It was interesting to see that in the East and the West there were here similarities. Attempts were made to conceal inner emptiness with exterior noise. This was just as true for the Danish work by Claus Bohm *Totem* as for the Yugoslav contribution by Borut Blazic.

Topor's seemingly traumatic delight in the uncanny includes a childlike pleasure in amusement and diversion. The world is a toy, to be broken and glued back together, not much use but great fun.

He could put the world together properly, but he doubts whether much would be gained. He conveys his shocks in a good mood, sounding a note of horror on a gentle flute.

Among the shockers he is an idyllic painter for pleasure in a hopeless world.

When he turns on a tap you can expect blood to pour out, but it could just be a slight giggle. Yet it would be a mistake to laugh too heartily about Topor; your head could be blown off.

Georg Hensel
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 20 April 1985)

Volker Baer
(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 28 April 1985)

Continued from page 10

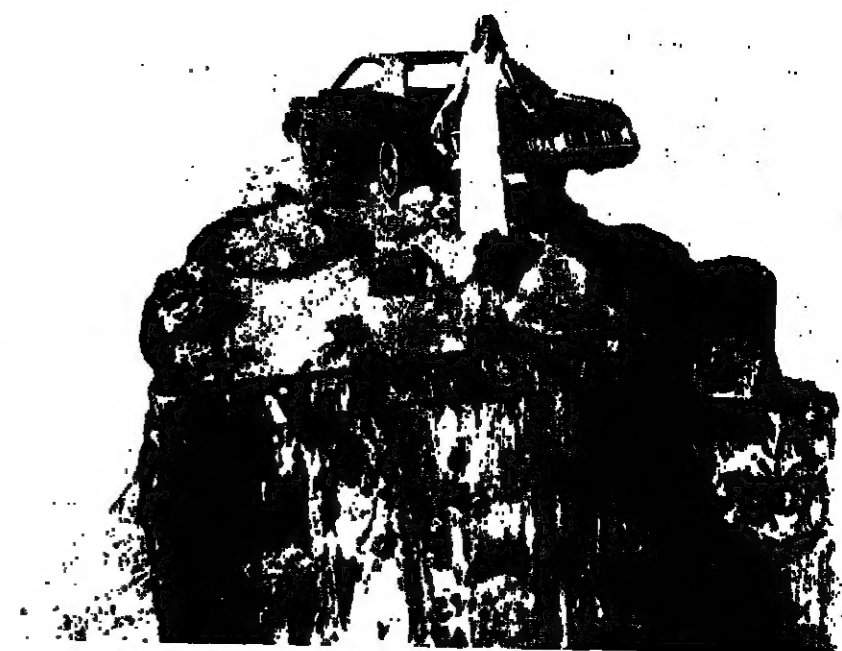
ing through cheeks. A man's nose runs right through the woman's head.

Animals and humans penetrate each other and rampage in each other. Topor is here a Hogarth of domestic horrors, a Dürer of bourgeois nightmares.

Dreadful though this all may appear, Topor's evil world has a fairy-tale innocence. This pleasure in shocking is greater than the shock.

He seldom leaves his audience in a state of shock, after the shock he makes them laugh. His 100 Good Reasons For Killing Me immediately is an invitation to life, not to suicide.

It is a collection of 100 grim jokes ranging from superficial puns to metaphysical witticisms such as: "What if I were immortal? I'd better find out as fast as possible."



A scene from *The Car of Your Dreams* shown at Oberhausen.

(Photo: Oberhausen short-film festival)

of Willy Zielkes (prohibited during the Third Reich), his *Stahler* (Steel animal).

Many early short films had more power and movement than the films of today. What was there to be seen in the international short film competition? In many works the theme covered was human isolation or flight.

In the French film Jérôme Enrico's *Lezzen Bild* (In the last picture) shows a young woman who is hunted through a neglected landscape, a panicky flight in a world empty of people.

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Schwarz und rot (Black and red) — this last dealt with nazi rockers.

The hopelessness of the youth scene in Czechoslovakia was depicted in the film by Tibor Marczak, *Macek ging nach* ... (Macek went to ...). There was little criticism of our times in contemporary films. The attack by the East Germans Walter Heynowski and Gerhard Scheumann on American cynicism was colourless, a social study of nuclear death underlying political and military violence.

Pictures on historical themes were equally uncritical, as the French and Bulgarian contributions about nazi accomplices.

But the contribution from Hungary by Péter Vajda/István Zimres about the expulsion of Germans after 1945 who always wanted to return was very informative.

And Renato Tapajó's report on a Brazilian committee against undemocratic regulations in *Im Namen der nationalen Sicherheit* (In the name of state security) was equally informative about politics in Latin America.

Sociological reports such as the Egyptian contribution from Shawa Abou Ahmed, *Ein Dorf in Ägypten* (A village in Egypt), or the Hungarian film about an old man, or the Bulgarian film about a farm woman's suicide, were all worthwhile. They were honest, simple and informative.

Films about asylum such as Friedrich Klitsch's *Asyl* and guest workers, Lucé Santini's *Bittere Erfahrung* (Bitter experience), about a Tunisian in Sicily, or Manolis Plantzos' *600-Volt-Schiene* (600-volt track) about an Arab in Greece, or Chanos' *Mamasuccion*, about the mother of a Spanish guest worker were all important.

Almost a half of the films shown, following Oberhausen tradition, were documentaries. A quarter were devoted to cartoon films. The remainder were divided between narrative and experimental films.

On the whole this was a valid representation of current short films, that reflect the concerns and troubles of full-length films.

There was caution and guardedness in the choice of themes, limitations on the free development of fantasy and sacrifice (or inability) as regards experimental films.

But in the choice of themes, in the assessment of form and in the courage for dispute contemporary life was reflected at Oberhausen once more.

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Continued from page 10

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Many Berlin schoolchildren have been given a day off to visit a water exhibition designed to make people think about water and not to regard it as purely an unlimited supply of something to drink and wash in.

The children were all given questionnaires to fill in. This was done with the aim of focusing their attention on the chemical, biological and geographical issues involved.

Children will one day have to live with the environmental sins of their elders, and maybe they will be prompted to ask critical questions at fathers who wash cars down by the river or mothers who use enormous amounts of expensive and superfluous "hygienic" products.

The exhibition takes young people's urge to play into account and has, for instance, computers at which they can try their hand at question and answer sessions.

Industries and organisations represented at the exhibition include the water boards, of course, the chemical industry, the German Gas and Water Association (which is one of the oldest scientific and technical bodies of its kind), the environmentalists and the Greens.

The Greens, says Wolfgang Merkel, business manager of the Gas and Water Association, are basically allies if some of their zanier ideas are disregarded.

Oddly enough, agriculture and the farmers' union are not represented at the exhibition, which is held every four years and is important both commercially and in terms of technical developments.

The farmers usually have no compunction in blowing their own trumpet,

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Water, water everywhere — but it's not as simple as that

Frankfurter Allgemeine

and as they are in heavy weather economically at present, the water exhibition would have been an opportunity of getting across to an urban public.

Farmers have increasingly been criticised lately for their use of water resources, more particularly in the context of pollution.

All concerned are agreed there is enough water in the Federal Republic of Germany, but in some areas ground water pollution has reached critical levels.

The chief offenders are nitrates, mainly from fertilisers, and fungicides, pesticides and herbicides.

The National Farmers Union has called for consumers to pay a water rate surcharge, but this idea has been strongly opposed.

Even critics well disposed toward farmers say that soil use in some cases (but by no means invariably) will in the medium term prove to be the farmer's disadvantage.

Some farmers, they say, are overburdening the soil by using steadily increasing amounts of fertiliser — with the result that fertility will in the end decline.

The European Community's common agricultural policy with the unfortunate effect of its farm price guarantees has also played its part in preventing farming with the emphasis on soil conservation.

A Karlsruhe congress was recently told that over 50 per cent of farmland could be worked both without overfertilising (and polluting the ground water) and without farmers needing to worry about lower yields.

Appropriate fertilisation is the keyword, and it leaves the fertiliser industry with a question or two to answer. Factory farms in north-west Germany, for instance, are major ground water polluters.

Certain soils, such as loess, can withstand the burden of overfertilising. Others, both in farming and in wine-

growing areas, send the nitrate straight down to the water table.

Can farmers who are suddenly confronted with a new and previously unknown water conservation area ask for compensation? If so, who is to compensate them and how high compensation to be?

An extra water rate levy is probably not the best bet in terms of political feasibility. Consumers are not yet in any serious danger, but there must be no question of waiting until the worst happens (as in the case of tree death) and only then thinking it over and giving the toss.

Are the water boards and those who use and treat water sufficiently aware of environmental hazards in relation to their past performance?

They are certainly well aware of it, says the Big C, cancer. Don't Forget the Sun is a play about cancer with and that straightforward information and plain speaking are a must.

Yet there is no lack of evidence of traditions, particularly between economic and ecological considerations, the Berlin exhibition.

Hans Herberichs
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 April)

The formaldehyde controversy keeps getting bigger

Formaldehyde is an invisible but almost constant companion of modern man. It occurs in household cleansing agents, car care products and even cosmetics and personal hygiene products.

It is found in hundreds of products ranging from chipboard to plaster, from all-purpose cleansers to detergent softeners, from shower gel to lipstick.

It may cause cancer; it certainly triggers allergic reactions. It spreads over the skin and enters the body through the nostrils.

The Consumer Association (AGV) has warned people not to use household products that contain it and has just presented a report compiled by the Eco-Institute in Freiburg.

Half the 102 detergents tested were found to contain formaldehyde. A list of the household cleansing agents tested is available at all local branches of the Consumer Association.

Rainer Griesshammer of the Eco-Institute says he feels sure the report is going to cause a rumpus.

There was one last year in connection with the discussion whether or not formaldehyde was carcinogenic, with Bonn Health Minister Heiner Geissler being accused of influencing the findings of a report compiled by the Federal Health Office, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Federal Labour Protection and Accident Research Establishment.

Herr Griesshammer says that in his view formaldehyde has always tended to cause cancer and still does. But the debate has made people forget that it is also one of the 10 most powerful allergens.

Cleansing agents do not yet need to specify their formaldehyde count.

The products tested included washing up liquid, floor polish, liquid detergent, detergent softener and washing creams, disinfectant and all-purpose cleansing agents.

They also included car, shoe, furniture, carpet and metal care products — both liquid and paste.

The highest formaldehyde count, so-

per cent, was found in disinfectant.

Then came floor cleaner and polish with about 0.34 per cent, car care products with 0.19 per cent, and washing up liquid, with 0.18 per cent.

Formaldehyde can find its way into some products via cleansing agents. On the production line, but as a rule specifically added as a disinfectant preservative.

The percentages measured must be seen in context. A number of products are used only in diluted form. Yet households use several products daily to clean, and formaldehyde, so the risk must be heightened.

Herr Griesshammer says a one per cent formaldehyde solution corresponds to 75 parts per million, or 75 times the maximum legally permitted at work.

A hazardous substances decree approved by the Bonn Cabinet rules that cleansing agents containing more than 0.1 per cent of formaldehyde must be marked as doing so by the manufacturer.

But it could be 18 months before the decree is in force, says the Consumer Association's Helmut Lenders. It must first be referred to the European Community, then be approved by the Bundesrat.

For health reasons and in the interests of consumer protection his organisation is not prepared to wait that long. Herr Lenders said the limits, marking procedures and transitional arrangements for substances such as formaldehyde were unsatisfactory.

The same must evidently be said of what over 40 Land chemical and technical authorities seem to know about formaldehyde in household products.

Questioned as part of the survey, one in three of them had data, and they either refused to release it or failed to answer.

It was the same story with medical panels and health insurance schemes. Not to mention 170 manufacturers who were sent written requests for information. Over 60 per cent didn't even bother to answer.

Horst Schiffers
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 27 April)

HEALTH

Cancer comes out of the closet and goes onto the stage

Städtische Zeitung

After the show, the Cologne Freie Werkstatt Theater's *Vergiss die Sonne nicht* (Don't Forget the Sun), and members of the audience met and talk it over.

It is the Big C, cancer. Don't Forget the Sun is a play about cancer with and that straightforward information and plain speaking are a must.

Yet there is no lack of evidence of traditions, particularly between economic and ecological considerations, the Berlin exhibition.

Hans Herberichs
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 April)

Life isn't the same any more, she says. She never got out of the circle again. She doesn't say "vicious circle". Every-

one of the women, no longer young with about 0.34 per cent, car care products with 0.19 per cent, and washing up liquid, with 0.18 per cent.

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minds to stage a play about cancer, death and living with them.

They improvised dialogues and were corrected and given ideas by nurses and psychologists from Cologne University Hospital.

Each of the seven, three men and four women, has decided as the play has taken shape in favour of a specific personal case history.

The play takes part in the day-room of a cancer ward where seven patients of various ages come from different walks of life.

One is a working class woman wearing a plain poplin dressing gown who continually tries to persuade herself and the others she is only in hospital for after-care.

Another is a self-confident, woman-of-the-world travel agent who says she is just a little hoarse now and then, but that is because she has to do so much talking in her job and, maybe, because she is a heavy smoker.

Edelgard Seebauer convincingly plays this part, that of a businesswoman who undergoes throat surgery and later in the play can no longer speak at all because her larynx has been removed.

In the cafe after the show Frau Seebauer smokes four or five cigarettes as usual.

Then there is a 24-year-old woman patient who has been diagnosed as having a breast tumour and, significantly, this part was not cast until the last minute.

None of the women fancied it at all, not even on stage only, and even though breast cancer is widespread.

"You'll have to buy a bra with something in it," the working-class woman tells her, "then no-one will know the difference."

But she doesn't want a silicon breast merely to get her back into optical shape and "so the men won't be upset when they eye me over."

Actress Birgit Heintz screams her fear out into the audience; the audience is shaken by her outburst.

Self control

Marga B., a woman with enormous powers of self-control, was at the play's premiere in Cologne. She says she admires people who can scream; she never could.

She never even screamed while giving birth to her children. She wasn't that kind of person.

How does someone like her feel when she learns she has cancer and is going to have to undergo surgery? Throughout her first sleepless night in hospital she constantly wondered why it had to be her.

Then, in the course of a second, seemingly endless night, she suddenly wondered: "Why not me?" Had she not lived life to the full?

This thought proved extremely helpful, and she feels older women are generally better able to come to terms with cancer.

"For women who went through the wartime air raids or whose husbands were prisoners of war and who brought up their children singlehandedly cancer is merely another burden to bear."

During the performance some of the audience left, while others either cried quietly or sobbed uninhibitedly. One weird scene shows the preparations for an operation. The woman whose breast is to be removed tries to come to terms with the idea by running through the arguments, constantly beginning with the words: "Yes, but..."

The doctors, as if in another world, monotonously mumble a chorus of medical terms. After the show, over a soft drink in the cafe, one woman who refused to put up with the routine of conventional medical wisdom tells her tale.

"If you aren't prepared to go along with us," she says, quoting a doctor who had clearly felt most insulted, "then you really are being most egoistic. After all, we have to get on with our research."

Another member of the Hanover self-help group recalls how she had trembled like a leaf on the table in the operating theatre, hoping for a word or two of reassurance.

Yet all that came was a chilly voice asking her: "Do you always get so worked up about things?"

In self-help groups women share such experiences and warn each other, always assuming there is still time, to have nothing to do with doctors who adopt such approaches.

Over 200 groups have been set up in the Federal Republic of Germany over the past 10 years. They are almost entirely women.

Men have usually yet to learn to own up to being afraid and prefer to come to terms with the complaint on their own. Most men would sooner never raise the subject.

Even Frau Seebauer was only able to talk about cancer with her father, who was dying of it, after he had seen the play. He had previously preferred not to mention the topic; then for once he talked about it non-stop all night.

In Marga B's case cancer struck five years ago when the children were finally leading lives of their own. It was as though she finally had time to allow herself the luxury of a personal illness.

She was 58, had brought up seven children, and she and her husband felt they had done a good job.

She had never before been really ill. "When subjects such as sickness, death or cancer arose they never seemed to affect me."

She even felt, when someone was ill, that all they had to do was to pull themselves together, then everything would be alright.

The first signs of the disease made their appearance when she and her husband were preparing to go on holiday — their first holiday alone and without the children.

In a paper on Mental and Social Problems of Women Cancer Patients the two sociologists conclude that

Continued on page 14



The Big C... a scene from *Don't Forget the Sun*

(Photo: Freie Theaterwerkstatt, Köln)

The doctor had not said what the complaint was but had left her in no doubt that surgery would be necessary. When would she like to have the operation?

Tomorrow, she had said, always having preferred to get things over and done with. Besides, she didn't want to miss the holiday. But it wasn't to be, not that year.

The doctor had wanted to be particularly careful (which ought naturally to be a matter of course) because he was a friend of one of the family's daughters and knew them all well.

"If only he had told me first," Marga B. says. As it was, he first told one of the sons, who had studied psychology and would, he hoped, be best able to break the news.

The son told his father and when her husband paid her an unexpected visit in hospital, she recalls, he no longer needed to say a word. The way he stood there said it all.

It reminded her of the way he had looked 35 years earlier when he had to break the news that her parents had been killed in an air raid.

Her only thought was: "You must make it as easy as possible for him." The word cancer was not mentioned until later, and certainly not first by the doctor.

That seems somehow typical. Doctors withdraw to their specialised knowledge and prove a failure at moments when they ought to show understanding for or even sympathy with their patients.

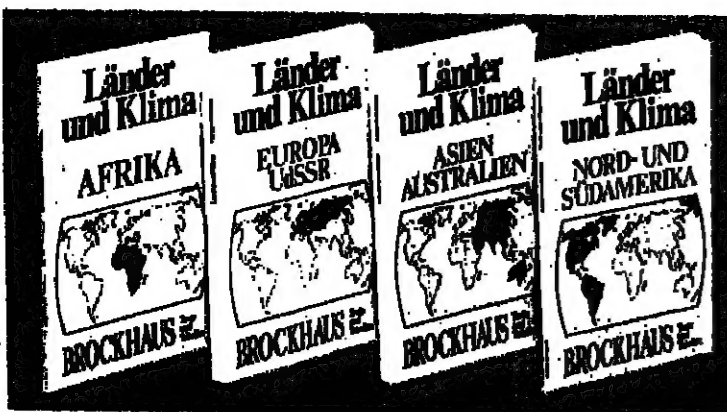
At times, women patients told two Oldenburg University women sociologists, they have even had to fight to find out the truth — or been told it in an aside.

They have been through situations in which the doctor has hummed and hawed and then said: "Incidentally, what I also wanted to tell you..." In other words, preposterously: "By the way, it's cancer, you know."

In a paper on Mental and Social Problems of Women Cancer Patients the two sociologists conclude that

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